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I

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EXORCISM IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

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EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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PART I

CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

Our problem is the investigation of the social and religious significance of exorcism for the author and the original readers of the Gospel of Mark. It is an attempt to discover the religious values of this type of experience for these people in the Roman world of the first century; to understand how it met their vital religious needs, and why Christianity's ability to conquer the demonic hosts was a powerful proof of its supreme worth. It is a search for the reason for the primary emphasis on Jesus' casting out of demons in the earliest of our Gospels.

Any observing reader of the Gospel of Mark will readily notice the prominence given to Jesus' exorcism of demons. A more careful study reveals the fact that this element is central in the Markan presentation of Jesus' public work.[1] A comparison of Matthew and Luke with Mark shows that both the later synoptists place much less stress proportionately on this type of activity than their Markan source, while in some portions of these Gospels it is clearly discredited.[2] In the Gospel of John not a single case of exorcism is attributed to Jesus.[3] Hence the expulsion of demons is not uniformly central in the early Christian accounts of Jesus' career. There must be definite reasons for these varied emphases.

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[1] B.W. Bacon, Is Mark a Roman Gospel? (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), p. 3.

[2] Matt. 7:22 f.; Luke 10:20. Note also how Matt. 7:29 makes different application of Mark 1:22; applying it to teaching rather than exorcism.

[3] In this Gospel Jesus is accused of having a demon, John 7:20; 8:48,52; 10:20 f. In 12:31 is a prediction that the prince of this world will soon be "cast out," ἐκβληθήσεται.

It is now clearly recognized by students of early Christianity that these differences in the several interpretations of Jesus are based on very practical human considerations. No one of the gospel writers was interested in giving a coldly critical and objective account of Jesus' life and teachings. Each was concerned with giving an interpretation that conveyed his own deepest convictions of the supreme value of Jesus and of the religion which he established. Each record includes a strong element of appreciation or evaluation, in terms and categories that are most meaningful to its author, and which he regards as of greatest value for his readers. The type of evaluation in each case depends upon the already existing religious conceptions and attitudes of the individuals or groups concerned, which in turn are determined by their whole religious, social and cultural heritage. Hence we find markedly different interpretations of Jesus in the various records. Each gospel writer selected as materials for his narrative those aspects of Jesus' life and message which would appeal most powerfully to the particular group for whom he was writing. In this way each of our gospels ministered vitally to the specific religious needs of its readers. The interpretation of Jesus that was most convincing to the recipients of Mark's Gospel would have been of little value in winning over the philosophical thinkers of Ephesus for whom John was written, while the latter would have been meaningless to the Roman readers of Mark.

Each gospel interpretation of Christianity is therefore selective: each represents certain distinctive religious attitudes, is written to furnish satisfaction for definite needs of a particular group of people under specific situations and promotes certain types of religious interests. In a very definite sense we can say that these various types of interpretation of Christianity all had apologetic significance: they were of value in strengthening the faith of the various Christian groups and in convincing non-Christians of the supreme importance of Christianity.[4]

In the Gospel of Mark exorcism occupies a position of central importance in Jesus' activity at practically every stage in his career.[5] At baptism he is endowed by the divine spirit and receives from heaven his commission to establish the new messianic kingdom.[6] Satan at once challenges his authority but is worsted in the struggle that ensues.[7] Having proved his divine authority by his victory over Satan, Jesus is ready for his program of inaugurating the new kingdom.[8] As official representative of the kingdom he not only preaches the coming of the new age, but to a degree actually realizes it by conquering the hosts of Satan who hold sway in the present evil age. Satan's representatives, the demons, are everywhere active in bringing a multitude of ills upon mankind, particularly the more serious diseases which were interpreted as possession. Whenever Jesus meets these he drives them out, freeing the victims from their dreaded influence.

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[4] See E.F. Scott, *The Apologetic of the New Testament* (New York, 1907), esp. pp. 1-71; A.D. Heffern, *Apology and Polemic in the New Testament* (New York, 1922), pp. 1-12, 27-55.

[5] Our interest here, as throughout the study, is to set forth the situations as presented by the author of the Gospel of Mark. The question as to the extent to which the Gospel represents the actual historical situation and Jesus' own attitudes does not concern us now.

[6] Mark 1:9-11. Mark says the Spirit descended "into" (εἰς) him, hence he is a possessed individual from this time forth, throughout his career.

[7] Mark 1:13. The author does not tell us explicitly that Jesus was victorious over Satan. But the whole account here and passages elsewhere assume this victory. Jesus' subsequent career as given in Mark would be inconceivable except on the basis of his initial conquest of the demonic chief. Cf. 3:27 which speaks of binding the strong man (Satan) before plundering his house, i.e. exorcising his demonic hosts from men.

[8] Mark 1:14 f.

Exorcism comes to the front at the very beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry. According to the Markan account his first public preaching takes place in the synagogue at Capernaum.[9] But the outstanding incident of this initial appearance is not the proclamation of a great prophetic message of righteousness.[10] It is rather the exorcism of a demon from a possessed man. The demon recognizes Jesus as the divinely chosen Messiah with complete power to overthrow the forces of Satan. Jesus enforces silence upon him lest the people discover his own identity as Messiah. The people are greatly astonished at this exhibition of divine power over the demons. "What is this? A teaching unique in its authority; for he commands even the unclean spirits and they obey him."[11] It is the authority of Jesus over the demons, not the moral and spiritual power of his message, that impresses the author throughout this scene. At once Jesus' fame spreads like wild fire through all the surrounding region of Galilee.[12] That same evening, after sunset, he heals a large number of people suffering from various maladies and casts out many demons.[13]

Jesus accompanied by some of his disciples next makes a tour throughout all Galilee. Here again his twofold work is preaching and casting out demons, with particular emphasis upon the latter.[14] His activities around the Sea of Galilee are also characterized by healing the sick and driving demons from the possessed.[15] When he chooses the twelve disciples as intimate associates in his work one of their chief functions is to cast out demons.[16]

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[9] Mark 1:21-27.

[10] Contrast Matt. 7:28,29 in which Jesus' authority is described in terms of the powerful moral message found in the Sermon on the Mount. Matt. chs. 5-7.

[11] Mark 1:27. [12] Mark 1:28. [13] Mark 1:32-34.

Jesus' exorcistic activity is so striking and so extensive that it becomes an important factor in arousing the hostility of official Judaism toward his work.[17] His enemies accuse him of being possessed by Beelzebub, the prince of the demons, and of casting out lesser spirits through the power of this demonic chief.[18] Jesus refutes their charge vigorously[19] by showing the fallacy of their argument. He also shows how highly he evaluates such activity by his estimate of the seriousness of their sin in thus attributing his beneficent works to demonic influence. He is performing exorcisms through the power of the Holy Spirit. But they are so blind and degenerate as to ascribe this work of mercy to the activity of Satan. A sin so grievous is unpardonable; he who commits it can never hope to be forgiven.[20] Only an attitude which sees the greatest significance in exorcism can account for so vigorous a condemnation of those who thus misinterpret its source and motive.

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[14] Mark 1:39. [15] Mark 3:11 f. [16] Mark 3:14 f.

[17] We are considering here the situation as set forth by the author, without regard to the historicity of the presentation. The question of exorcism by the early Christians as a cause of Jewish hostility toward the new movement is considered in infra pp.42-44. The attitude of orthodox official Judaism toward such practices is set forth more in detail on pp. 236-39.

[18] Mark 3:22-30.

[19] Mark 3:23-27.

[20] Mark 3:28-30.

The practice of exorcism also stands out in bold relief in Jesus' work on Gentile soil. After further activity in Galilee he goes over into the country of the Gerasenes.[21] The sole incident related in connection with this excursion into Gentile territory is the exorcism of a legion of demons from a raving maniac and sending them into a herd of swine.[22]

Upon returning to "his own country" (Nazareth) his work is described largely in terms of similar activity. In this case, however, the stress is placed on the absence of exorcism. The remarkable fact about this experience was Jesus' inability to perform the usual exorcisms. He placed his hands on a few sick and healed them but was unable to drive out any demons because of people's lack of faith.[23]

Soon the disciples begin to share in this task of expelling evil spirits. Jesus decides to increase the effectiveness of his work by sending out the twelve to carry on the same kind of activities in which he is engaged. "He began to send them out two by two, and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits."[24] That this authority was exercised on an extensive scale is indicated in a later portion of the narrative, "they cast out many demons."[25]

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[21] Mark 5:1 ff.; On the geographical difficulties involved see Burton, A Short Introduction to the Gospels (Revised edition by Willoughby, Chicago, 1926), p. 2, n. 2, and literature there cited.

[22] Mark 5:1-20.

[23] Mark 6:1-5. Here the author seems clearly to be making the customary distinction between two types of healing activity; curing the less serious cases by touching, and exorcising demons in the worst cases by his word of authority. Cf. 1:32-34; 3:10 f.; 6:13; 16:17 f.; Matt. 8:16; Luke 4:40 f.; 6:17-19; I Cor. 12:9 f. For the translation of εἰ μὴ as "but" cf. Luke 4:26; Rev. 21:27.

[24] Mark 6:7.

[25] Mark 6:13;

Exorcism is also central in the account of Jesus' tour through the regions of Tyre and Sidon. When Jewish hostility forces him to leave Galilee[26] the only recorded incident of this long trip is the expulsion of a demon from the daughter of a pagan woman.[27] The miraculous element is enhanced by the fact that the child is at home - a considerable distance from Jesus - when the cure takes place. The author's selection of this case of exorcism as the only narrative in connection with this tour in Gentile territory is a clear indication of the primary importance of this activity in his estimate of Jesus' mission.

Even in connection with Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah[28] there is an incident closely related to exorcism. It shows clearly the reality of the presence and activity of Satan and his hosts for the first century world. When Peter expresses the conviction that Jesus is the Messiah, he and his fellow disciples are enjoined to the greatest secrecy. Jesus then explains to them that his messiahship involves suffering and death, rather than political and military triumph as they expected of the national Messiah. When Peter rebukes his master for entertaining such unwelcome ideas, Jesus flashes back the stinging counter rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men."[29] Jesus sees in this temptation to political messiahship the influence of the arch-demon himself, operating through the person of his own leading disciple, and instantly drives him from their

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the Imperfect ἐξέβαλλον is used, indicating that it was a repeated or customary practice.

[26] Mark 7:24. His retirement under attempted secrecy immediately after the controversy on ceremonial purity (7:1-23) shows the tensity of the situation. Cf. 6:14-31.

[27] Mark 7:24-30.

[28] Mark 8:27-9:1.

[29] Mark 8:33.

presence.

The transfiguration experience is likewise followed immediately by a dramatic case of exorcism. Jesus has been revealed to his three favorite disciples as the glorious heavenly Messiah, divinely endowed and authenticated for his great work.[30] When they reach the foot of the mountain after this great event they meet an excited crowd. A boy possessed from childhood by a dumb spirit is the cause of the tumult. Some of the disciples had tried to drive out the evil spirit but failed. In response to the father's earnest pleadings Jesus exorcises it and the boy is healed.[31]

Mark also preserves the interesting account of the practice of exorcism by a non-disciple.[32] Though not a member of the twelve this man successfully drives out evil spirits through the use of the name of Jesus. For the author this has great significance. It is a justification of the practice of exorcism in Jesus' name[33] by those outside the group of Jesus' original Jewish followers. For him it undoubtedly gives Jesus' sanction to this type of activity in Gentile Christian circles.

It is only when we come to the Jerusalem ministry that the emphasis upon exorcism is eclipsed by other interests. No doubt many factors have contributed to this diminished attention to it. The chief of these is the central position occupied by the passion story. Our attention in this part of the gospel is directed to the final scenes of the tragic drama in Jesus' career and the forces that inevitably were bringing him to his death. Here we see portrayed vividly the growing hostility toward him by various Jewish groups and his own bitter polemics against them.[34] Amid events of such tremendous significance we must not expect to find the same stress upon exorcism that is pictured in Jesus' Galilean career. Yet even in the midst of these dramatic scenes we are still in a very realistic sense moving in the environment of demonism. Satan and his hosts are active in these stirring events. In fact they are ultimately responsible for Jesus' death.[35] The betrayal by Judas and the hostility of the

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[30] Mark 9:1-8. [31] Mark 9:14-29. [32] Mark 9:38-40.

[33] Evidently the normal Christian method of driving out demons was to command them in the name of Jesus. Cf. Acts 3:2-6; 4:7-10; 16:16-18; 19:13-17.

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[34] Chs. 11-15 deal with these developments.

[35] This conception is not stated specifically in any single clear-cut passage. But a number of passages suggest it and several elements in the general world view of Mark almost demand it.

(1) The prevailing interpretation of life according to which all individual and social phenomena were under supernatural control - either good or evil forces - unquestionably would attribute an event of such far-reaching significance to satanic influence. Cf.pp.82 ff.below for fuller discussion.

(2) The current world view regarding the two ages, that underlies the Gospel of Mark, logically implies satanic responsibility for Jesus' death. The present evil age is in control of Satan and his hosts of demons. (Cf. ending of Mark in Codex W). They are responsible for sickness, death and a multitude of other human ills. Organized into a hierarchy or kingdom these evil forces of righteousness (Mark 1:13; 3:23-27; 4:15). Death is the supreme form of Satan's control over men (Cf. Heb. 2:14 f.; I Cor. 2:8; 15:26; John 8:44). If this be true with regard to ordinary men, how much more truly would it apply to Jesus the divinely appointed founder of the kingdom of God, who is making such inroads on Satan's power. If Satan could bring about the downfall and death of the Messiah, he could destroy his power.

On many occasions our author shows how the hostility of Jewish official groups led, step by step, to Jesus' death (See 3:6; 7:1-23; 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; 11:15-18; 12:1-12; 14:1; 15:10. But with his firmly rooted conviction of Satan as the inaugurator and arch plotter back of every evil enterprise, Mark could lay the ultimate responsibility for the death of the Messiah only at his (Satan's) door. The Jewish officials were merely his agents. Satan was the real power behind the plot that culminated in Jesus' crucifixion (Cf. 14:41; 3:19; 14:10 f. 18-21, 43).

(3) Our author condemns as "sinners" the Jewish groups directly responsible for Jesus' death (14:41). Likewise he shows clearly that Judas is an enemy and traitor to the cause of Jesus (3:19; 14:10 f., 18-21, 43). But back of both is the implication of Satan and the demons as primarily responsible. If Bacon is correct in the thesis that Judas in betraying Jesus proclaimed the fact of Jesus having been anointed as political Messiah (Bacon, "What Did Judas Betray?", *Hibbert Journal*, XIX (1921), 476-93) our author would certainly attribute his treachery to satanic influence (Cf. 8:33 and p.8 above).

Jews toward Jesus are both inspired by these diabolical powers. The death of Jesus is the supreme attempt of the Evil One to overthrow the power of the Messiah. It is the culmination of the satanic efforts to thwart the great work of Jesus in establishing the kingdom of God. And for a brief period it seems successful. But it is only a temporary and apparent victory for Satan. On the third day Jesus rises from the dead. This conquest of Satan's last stronghold, death, is the final and infallible proof of Jesus' divine power, of his supremacy over the dread hosts of Satan, and of the certainty and power of the kingdom which he is inaugurating.

Thus, throughout Jesus' career, from his baptism to his resurrection, he is in almost continuous conflict with Satan and his representatives. And his conquest of them in every case

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(4) In 10:45 we read, in words attributed to Jesus, "The Son of Man came...to give his life a ransom for many." While the interpretation of this passage cannot be given with complete certainty, it is probable that it refers in some sense to Jesus' redemption of man from the power of Satan who held men in bondage through death. Jesus in submitting to death had paid the ransom with his own life and thus freed men from this tyranny of Satan over them (Cf. Heb. 2:14 f. which represents the same idea in Roman tradition of a little later period). *See also* Luke 4:18 ff. *re* release of captives.

(5) In early Christian circles the conception was widespread that the demonic powers had brought about the death of Jesus. Paul expresses it clearly when he states that the archons of this age "crucified the Lord of glory" (I Cor. 2:8; *also see* Col. 2:15). Its presence also in the third and fourth gospels shows that it was current in a number of different groups in the early church (Luke 22:3-6; John 13:2, 27). In the Roman church too, at a later date, we find reference to Jesus' conquest through death of "him that had the power of death that is the devil" (Heb. 2:14). When we consider the tremendous significance of the death of Jesus for the early church and the problems it presented, it is easy to see why they should ascribe it to the wiles of Satan.

An interesting parallel to this type of thinking is in the conception of the demons as responsible for the persecution of the Christians by Jews and Gentiles. We find this in Rev. 2:10; Asc. of Isa. 2:4 f.; Ignatius (*Magn*. 1:2); Justin (*Apol*.LVII; LXIII; *Dial*. ch. 18); Hippolytus (*Dan*. I.XV.4; III.XXIV.7); Tertullian (*Scorp*. I; *Perpet*. XX.I; *Apol*. XXVII); Minucius XXVII. 7 f.; XXVIII.7; XXXI.I); Origen (*Cels*. III.29; IV.32); et al. Cf. C.J. Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World* (New York, 1925), p. 341 and n. 3; p. 516 and n. 1.

shows his divine power and authority.

In addition to the cases of exorcism already noted Mark recounts a number of other incidents which also show Jesus' mastery over satanic influence. He performs many healings, including fever,[36] leprosy,[37] paralysis,[38] a girl at the point of death,[39] hemorrhage,[40] deafness and dumbness,[41] and blindness.[42] The author also gives a number of summaries of extensive healing activities of a variety of ailments at various periods in Jesus' public ministry.[43] These include both exorcisms and other healings which are distinguished from them,[44] but they have one significant common element. In every case the cure of the disease is dependent on the defeat of an evil spirit. Hence each cure shows Jesus' supremacy over the satanic forces.

A number of detached incidents and sayings, though of a varied character have the same atmosphere of conflict between divine and diabolical powers. Jesus' rebuke of the wind and the sea seems to be spoken to a spirit or spirits responsible for the storm.[45] When Jesus is describing to his disciples some of the features of the coming apocalyptic kingdom he speaks of its coming "with power."[46] Since Mark's philosophy of the coming of the kingdom identified its coming with the increasing conquest of the forces of evil by the forces of righteousness, he evidently has in mind here some dramatic defeat of satanic powers by the Messiah.[47] In another eschatological passage he says "the powers of the heavens shall be shaken" as one of the incidents preceding the coming of the apocalyptic Son of Man.[48] In the light of current astrological conceptions, both without and within Christianity,[49] it is quite reasonable to conclude that by the term "powers" (δυναμεις) the author is referring to the spirits in control of the various heavenly bodies. In this case the passage depicts the fall of these demonic forces as one of the preliminary steps preparing for the coming of the heavenly Messiah.

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[36] Mark 1:30.

[37] Mark 1:40-45.

[38] Mark 2:1-12.

[39] Mark 5:22 f.,35-43.

[40] Mark 5:24-34.

[41] Mark 7:31-37.

[42] Mark 8:22-26; 10:46-52.

[43] Mark 1:32-34; 3:10; 6:5, 55 f..

[44] See 6:5,12 f.; and p. 6 n. 14 above.

[45] Mark 4:39. Note, e.g., the use of the same word as that addressed to a demon in 1:25.

[46] Mark 9:1; the term used is ἐν δυνάμει.

[47] Cf. 6:5; 9:39; Luke 10:17-19; I Cor. 12:9 f. and n. 35, p.10 above.

As the final cases of exorcism and kindred phenomena in Mark attention should be called to pertinent material in the long conclusion of the gospel.[50] Here we read of Mary Magdalene from whom Jesus had expelled seven demons.[51] After the resurrection Jesus promises to his disciples the authority for driving out demons, the power of healing the sick, and immunity from poisonous serpents, deadly potions and other forms of harm.[52] And the final verse bears testimony to the signal success of these miraculous powers in their apologetic values for the Christian movement.[53]

Our survey of the prevalence of the phenomena of exorcism in this gospel reveals clearly its basal significance for the author. It is the chief apologetic which he presents for his religion. For him, Jesus' conquest of hostile demonic powers was the most convincing proof of his divine character and mission. It was at the same time the corner stone of his fundamental conviction of Christianity's ability to furnish complete satisfaction for all human needs. Numerous and striking cases of Jesus' expulsion of evil spirits from their human victims proved his mastery over the hosts of Satan and his power to deliver men from their tyranny. The exercise of this power and authority proves him to be the official representative of the kingdom of God. He will soon establish this new era of righteousness, when the present evil age will be overthrown and Satan's power completely broken. Jesus' conquest of the demonic hosts during his earthly career is a proof and a prophecy of his final triumph over these dread forces that now cruelly afflict mankind. To those who become his devotees he guarantees deliverance from all attacks of these demonic hordes, and the assurance of final triumph over all life's ills.

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[48] Mark 13:25 f.; cf. B.W. Bacon, The Gospel of Mark; Its Composition and Date (New Haven, 1925), p. 319.

[49] See F. Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York, 1912); R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904); Rom. 8:38; Eph. 1:21; 2:2; 3:10; cf. pp.255-61 below.

[50] The long conclusion though a later addition to the Gospel, contains the type of material which would naturally be expected in a work that emphasizes so predominantly the activities of exorcism and associated phenomena. It also bears testimony to the continued significance of such materials for Roman Christianity. For critical problems on this conclusion see H.B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark (New York, 1898), Introduction, pp. ciii-cxiii; Bacon, The Gospel of Mark, pp. 187-203; E.J. Goodspeed, New Solutions of New Testament Problems (Chicago, 1927), pp. 116-22.

[51] Mark 16:9.

[52] Mark 16:17 f.

[53] Mark 16:20. Cf. ending in Codex W.

Why does the author present this picture of Jesus' significance as a religious leader? What was there about the religious needs and longings of the readers of Mark which gave a powerful appeal to such a picture? What part did demonic powers play in their lives? How far were they responsible for life's ills? At what points did they touch people in their daily activities? To what extent did people look to religion for deliverance from these evil forces? How were other religions ministering to them in the solution of these problems? How did Christianity as presented in Mark satisfy these needs and thus convince them of its supreme value for their lives?

These are the chief questions which our study will seek to answer. Our interest here is thus in the function of exorcism in Mark. We are not concerned with the question of the historicity of the various accounts of exorcism, nor with a study of the origins of the practice of exorcism. The question of the historical "truth" of these various miracles related in the Gospel records has often been discussed and various attempts have been made to rationalize both the acceptance and the rejection of the accounts. Such attempts may be useful in helping us of the twentieth century to evaluate these events for religion today, but they can contribute little to a historical understanding of early Christianity. Our purpose is to discover the social and religious significance of exorcism for a particular group of people living in the first century - the author of Mark and its first readers. When Christianity was evaluated in terms of a definite quantum of static "truth" forever unchanging and of equal validity for people of all time, the question of historicity of Jesus' every act and word was a vital one. Now that we are beginning to evaluate Christianity in terms of its ability to furnish fulfilment for the deepest and most vital needs and wishes of men in the face of definite life problems, it becomes imperative to understand these needs and problems if we would appreciate the real significance of Christianity for them. While the question of absolute truth falls into the background, that of the vital function of every phase of their religious experience becomes increasingly important. Thus it is of comparatively little importance to know whether Jesus actually drove out every demon mentioned in the gospel records, but it is of great value to understand the religious significance to first century Christians of Jesus as the heavenly deliverer from the dread power of Satan and his hosts.

The question of the origin of the practice of exorcism and of its introduction into the Roman world also falls outside the scope of our main study. Naturally similar practices among other peoples and in other periods will receive some attention, but no attempt will be made to trace fully the genetic relationships. Insofar as they bear on our central problem they will be considered; beyond that they will be left out of account. Our interest is in the function of the phenomena of exorcism for our specific group and we shall attempt to discover this chiefly in the actual conditions and religious quests of this particular period. We shall try to see it in its relationship to the whole complex of social and religious conditions of the time, as a function of the total life experiences of the group.

B. Method of Approach

Our method of study will be social and objective. Our interest throughout will be in the practical values of these experiences in terms of actual living. We shall approach the social and religious significance of these phenomena in their relation to the whole social *milieu* of the Christian group. We shall see their religion not as an essence developed in a vacuum, but as a function and interpretation of all the concrete experiences of life.

No longer do we attempt to study Christianity apart from the lives of its devotees. We realize that an understanding of the religion of any group of people must be based on a knowledge of their specific problems and life situations. Hence we shall be concerned with such questions as the kind of physical world in which these Christians lived, the political organization and its relation to the people, the intellectual world view of the time, their contacts with people of other racial, national and religious groups, their social and economic status, how they made their living, their means of social intercourse, the kinds of amusements they enjoyed, the conditions of family life, how they met the problems of sickness and death and the mystery of the future, and a multitude of similar everyday experiences.

In the light of these concrete relationships of life we shall seek to discover how the Markan message and the values there portrayed brought satisfaction and joy. We shall see how it helped these people in a vast complex of relationships to attain a richer, more worthful type of life; how it aided them in the solution of their problems, the lightening of their burdens, the quieting of their fears, the triumph over their sorrows and disappointments in a joyful conquest of all life's ills; in a word, its value in bringing the fulfilment of their quest for a more satisfactory life in the present and the guarantee of a glorious future.

C. Scope of the Study

In this investigation, interest will center in the local Christian group for whom the Gospel of Mark was written. No attempt will be made to generalize for the whole Christian movement. The study of early Christianity shows clearly a great variety of situations in the different local communities. Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Rome - each of these and other churches had its own peculiar local problems not duplicated elsewhere. A study of each in the light of its particular conditions is indispensable to an adequate appreciation of Christianity as a living religion of actual people in that locality. Through an understanding of the differences as well as the common elements in the Christianity of the various communities we shall reach a truer conception of the real significance and developments of Christianity in its early stages.

Our attention will be centered in the situation in the Roman community. But it cannot be treated in complete isolation from the rest of the Christian movement. We shall at many points in our study note the contacts with developments in various parts of the contemporary world. Attention will often be called to developments elsewhere that parallel more or less closely the situation in our own local group. Insofar as the conditions are prevalent throughout a wider territory the data will be of value as representing general practices and attitudes of the time. But these elements get their significance, not primarily from the fact that they are present also in other communities, but because they meet vital needs in our specific group. They draw their validation from their ability to function successfully in satisfying the religious quests of the individuals and the worshipping Christian group in our particular community.

D. Presuppositions Regarding the Origin of Mark

With reference to the origin of the Gospel of Mark this study will assume as valid the generally accepted results of modern scholarship.[54] That Mark is the earliest of our gospels and a main source of both Matthew and Luke is of course a commonplace of present day criticism. The dependence of the author upon materials which directly or indirectly go back to Peter through John Mark is also assumed, as is the fragmentary character of these memoirs. For our present interest it is sufficient to place the document chronologically near 70 A.D., a few years after the death of the apostles Peter and Paul. Whether it dates from a short time prior to or following the fall of Jerusalem is of very little significance for our study, though the evidence seems to support the later date.

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[54] The standard works of Wellhausen, Swete, Menzies, Loisy, Goguel, Montefiore, Bacon, Bultmann, Streeter and Rawlinson may be mentioned as typical. See bibliography for titles.

What is much more important for our purpose is the questions of the provenance of the Gospel. That it arose in an important center of Gentile Christianity is certain. Internal and external evidence agree in their testimony to Rome as the place of origin. Any remaining doubts have been removed by Bacon's monograph.[55]

With the question of earlier sources for the gospel we are not primarily concerned. Our interest is in discovering the significance of certain phenomena as presented in the book in its present form. Where differences in this connection suggest problems of source criticism they will be considered.

We shall then assume that Mark arose in Rome around 70 A.D. as a product of Gentile Christianity, a document written to stimulate the religious life of the Christian community and to win new adherents to the faith.[56]

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[55] "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?"

[56] The purpose and interests of the Gospel of Mark will be noted more fully in a later section of our study.

CHAPTER II

JESUS' PRACTICE OF EXORCISM

ACCORDING TO EXTRA-MARKAN NEW TESTAMENT SOURCES

A. Use by Matthew and Luke of Specific Cases of Exorcism in Mark

The Markan accounts of Jesus' deeds of power are used extensively by both Matthew and Luke. Here as elsewhere in their gospels each writer freely condenses, generalizes, supplements or otherwise modifies the Markan account in accordance with the purpose of his own narrative. Of the four individual cases of exorcism performed by Jesus in Mark,[1] Matthew uses two[2] with minor adaptations, expands a third into a double exorcism,[3] and changes the remaining instances[4] into a generalized statement of Jesus' healing activities. He has thus made use in one form or another of each Markan instance.

The substitution of a general statement for one specific case of expelling a demon is easy to understand. This account of the initial exorcism in the Capernaum synagogue is given by Mark as proof of Jesus' unique authority.[5] For Mark it was chiefly an authority over the evil spirits. But for the author of the first Gospel Jesus' authority was interpreted primarily in terms of the moral power of his teachings. He illustrates this superiority of Jesus as a great religious teacher by the Sermon on the Mount which is concluded by the passage on Jesus' authority.[6] The insertion of the account of exorcism in the Capernaum synagogue, which is quite fitting for Jesus' initial, public appearance in Mark, would have been a discordant element in Matthew in this connection. But Matthew's high evaluation of Jesus' deeds of power is clearly seen in the sweeping summary given in this context.

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[1] Mark 1:21-27; 5:1-20; 7:24-30; 9:14-29; and in 1:32-34 we have a statement of a series of exorcisms and healings after sunset of the same day on which the demoniac was cured in the Capernaum synagogue, but no individual cases are mentioned; hence we are considering this with similar summaries below, pp 24 f.

[2] Matt. 15:21-28; 17:14-20.

[3] Matt. 8:28-34.

[4] Matt. 4:23-25.

[5] Mark 1:21-27.

> And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease, and all manner of sickness among the people. And the report of him went forth into all Syria: and they brought unto him all that were sick, holden with divers diseases and torments, possessed with demons, and epileptic and palsied; and he healed them.[7]

In his use of the story of the Gerasene demoniac Matthew heightens the effect by having two possessed men cured instead of one.[8] In the accounts of the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter[9] and the epileptic boy[10] the author of the first gospel has added touches which give an enhanced dignity and authority to Jesus.

Luke has incorporated three[11] of the four Markan incidents and omitted only one.[12] The incident left out of his record would obviously be out of place there. It is the story of the Gentile girl who was healed by Jesus with great reluctance and only upon the repeated insistence of the mother. This is too contradictory to Luke's universalism to have value for his purpose.[13] And he has attempted no substitution for this omitted incident. There is nothing in his gospel which parallels its material. In the stories which he has incorporated he has made some adaptations and condensations but has taken much less liberty with his sources than has Matthew. In most essentials his accounts reproduce the Markan emphasis with a fair degree of accuracy.

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[6] Matt. 7:28 f.

[7] Matt. 4:23 f.. This seems to be based on Markan passages (1:39, 28, 32, 34a) with characteristic Matthean additions, making it a summary of the kinds of healing activities recorded by Matthew.

[8] Matt. 8:28-34. Matthew also places this in the country of the Gadarenes.

[9] Matt. 15:21-28. The mother is here called a Canaanitish woman.

[10] Matt. 17:14-20.

[11] Luke 4:31-36; 8:26-39; 9:37-43a.

[12] Mark 7:24-30.

B. Use of Markan Summaries of Jesus' Exorcistic Activities in Matthew and Luke

Mark has four summary statements regarding Jesus' expulsion of demons, each connected with a particular geographical locality or area. The first deals with deeds of power outside Peter's home in Capernaum on the night of his first day's public appearance.[14] We are here informed that people brought to Jesus "all that were sick, and them that were possessed with demons....And he healed many that were sick with divers diseases, and cast out many demons." Both Matthew and Luke use this Markan statement with heightened effect. Matthew says that they brought many demoniacs "and he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all that were sick."[15] Luke also stresses the completeness of Jesus' success in this situation. "All they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them. And demons also came out from many."[16] This author adds the characteristic passage about the recognition of Jesus' messiahship and divine sonship on the part of the demons and his stern commands of silence imposed upon them. This is a Markan feature from a non-parallel context,[17] used by Luke with greater effectiveness than in its original setting.

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[13] It is worth noting that this passage is from the Great Omission of Mark in Luke.

[14] Mark 1:32-34. According to the Jewish method of reckoning time, this would of course be the day following the sabbath when the incidents related immediately preceding took place.

[15] Matt. 8:16.

[16] Luke 4:40 f.

The second Markan summary shows Jesus preaching in the synagogues throughout all Galilee and casting out demons.[18] Matthew omits the section in which this passage occurs but adopts and elaborates the generalization of Jesus' activities, substituting it for the synagogue incident already considered.[19] It becomes for him a convenient synopsis embracing Jesus' threefold work of preaching, healing, and driving out demons. Luke reproduces Mark's reference to preaching[20] but omits all mention of exorcism.

Mark's next generalization deals with Jesus' activities around the Sea of Galilee giving particular attention to the healing of those who secured relief from their plagues by touching him.[21] Demoniacs are said to have fallen down before him and the unclean spirits confessed their knowledge of him as Son of God. These attempts to reveal his identity are met with his stern rebuke, and the implication seems clear that the demons were driven out, though no explicit statement of exorcism is given. Matthew merely states that Jesus healed all who followed him,[22] without a reference to demoniacs. Luke also abbreviates the Markan account but mentions specifically the "healing" of those troubled with unclean spirits[23] and the fact that power radiated from Jesus to heal all who touched him.

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[17] Mark 3:11.

[18] Mark 1:39.

[19] Matt. 4:23 f.; cf. Mark 1:21-27 and above, p. 22 f.

[20] Luke 4:44.

[21] Mark 3:10-12.

[22] Matt. 12:15.

[23] Luke 6:18 f.

In the Markan record of Jesus' experience at Nazareth we find his fellow townsmen amazed at the story of the "mighty works" (exorcisms) he has been performing elsewhere, but so skeptical of his power that he is unable to perform any in their midst.[24] All he can do is heal a few sick by placing his hands upon them. Luke makes no use of the Markan source on this theme, preferring his other account which is far more dramatic.[25] Matthew according to his frequent custom cannot allow Jesus to appear to fail so completely even in his home community. His statement indicates that he performed a few "mighty works" there but refused to do more for these unworthy skeptics.[26]

In the Matthean use of these Markan summaries we find that three out of four have been incorporated in the first Gospel, and only one omitted. Of the three, one is presented from practically the Markan point of view while the other two are modified so as to exalt Jesus to a position of greater significance. Luke omits two of the four, one because its context was of inferior worth to another source which he possessed; the other apparently because it did not fit in with his purpose in the particular context. But where the Markan materials are used they are so adapted as to heighten the supernatural element in the personality of Christianity's founder.

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[24] Mark 6:2,5.

[25] Luke 4:16-30, a non-Markan source in a non-parallel passage, hence one which falls under section D, pp.28ff.below. It is significant to note the stress here upon the spiritual and social character of Jesus' message without definite reference to exorcism. But the atmosphere of the miraculous is retained in Jesus' citations of the miraculous deeds of Elijah and Elisha.

[26] Matt. 13:54-58.

C. Use by Matthew and Luke of Markan Accounts of "Near-Exorcism"

In the survey of Mark's presentation of Jesus' deeds of power[27] we noted a number of incidents not to be classified strictly as exorcisms but indicating clearly his conquest of satanic forces.[28] The other synoptists also make generous use of this material. Mark records a total of nine accounts of healings of this class, embracing seven different ailments. They include fever,[29] leprosy,[30] paralysis,[31] raising from the dead,[32] hemorrhage,[33] deafness with impediment in speech[34],and blindness.[35] Of these nine incidents Matthew incorporates six[36] with his customary modifications, omits one altogether,[35] substitutes for another a summary statement of Jesus' healing activities,[37] while for the last he gives two similar stories in each of which Jesus gives restoration of sight to two blind men.[38] He has thus given the accounts of the healing of ten different individuals, in addition to the summary paragraph. The two incidents which have not been reproduced were omitted for an obvious reason. They represent the two Markan stories that picture Jesus as successful in his healing efforts only after extended or repeated efforts, hence are inconsistent with Matthew's theory of Jesus' high status. And the generalization substituted for one of them is more impressive than the original. Of the eight accounts given, all but two show a decided heightening of the power of Jesus, of the attitude of reverence toward him by the patients, or of the profound effects produced upon those present.[39]

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[27] See above pp. 8-11.

[28] Since Satan and his hosts are the chief causes of diseases of all kinds, healing of the afflicted is victory over Satan and the demons. See infra pp. 118-22 for data on this interpretation of disease.

[29] Mark 1:30 f.

[30] Mark 1:40-45.

[31] Mark 2:1-12; 3:1-6.

[32] Mark 5:22 f.,35-43.

[33] Mark 5:24-34.

[34] Mark 7:31-37.

[35] Mark 8:22-26; 10:46-52.

[36] Matt. 8:14 f.; 8:1-4; 9:1-8; 12:9-14; 9:18,23-26,20-22.

[37] Matt. 15:30 f.

[38] Matt. 9:27-31; 20:29-34.

Luke's use of these materials is similarly impressive. He reproduces seven[40] of Mark's nine incidents, omitting the same two which Matthew found objectionable and for similar reasons. Here in the third gospel also the modifications are almost without exception such as to elevate Jesus to a position of greater authority and power, further exalted above other men among whom he moves. Quite noticeable among these changes are his representation of the healing of Simon's mother-in-law[41] by Jesus' authoritative word of rebuke to the fever demon, the use of the term "Lord" in people's reverent address to Jesus,[42] the unequivocal statement that Jairus' daughter was known to be dead,[43] and the characteristic Lukan interest in stressing the attitude of fear,[44] produced in the hearts of those witnessing Jesus' mighty works.

In their use of certain miscellaneous materials in Mark showing Jesus as conqueror of Satan or his emissaries, the other synoptists further bear witness to the value of such dynamic activities in creating and nourishing Christian faith in their communities. As in Mark these accounts move in an atmosphere of conflict between the satanic forces and the members of the Christian group.

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[39] Matt. 9:1-8; 12:9-14. Even, here there are some evidences of modifications in the direction of a greater exaltation of Jesus.

[40] Luke 4:38 f.; 5:12-16,17-26; 6:6-11; 8:41 f.,49-56; 8:43-48; 18:35-43.

[41] Luke 4:39.

[42] Luke 5:12; 18:41. The application of this term so common in Gentile Christian circles toward the end of the century is also characteristic of Matthew.

[43] Luke 8:53 [44] Luke 5:26.

We see the malevolent demons attempt the life of the divinely chosen Messiah and his little band of intimate followers by a sudden storm on the lake, but their cruel purpose is frustrated and they are forced into submission by Jesus' authoritative command.[45] Not content with having tried by every artifice to lead astray the divine inaugurator of this new faith at the beginning of his career,[46] the arch enemy Satan is still active in many ways to deceive both Jesus and his followers. It is he who is so often responsible for the failure of the gospel message to bring forth its true fruit in the heart of the Christian believer. The wily old enemy has snatched away the seed before it could come to fruition, lest his own power be endangered by its too rapid growth.[47]

His forces are thoroughly organized and constantly on the alert in their efforts to frustrate the divine plan of God at every step. But Jesus, through his endowment by the Spirit of God, is more than a match for the satanic tactics.[48] The devil even attempts the strategy of luring Jesus to play into his hands through a tempting suggestion placed in the mouth of the favorite disciple.[49] But Jesus is ever on his guard against the enemy. Quick as a flash he recognizes the source of the temptation and repels it with vehemence.

The emissaries of Satan are so alert and resourceful in deceiving mankind, sometimes through displays of miraculous power, that even the most faithful must be on their guard.[50] Jesus recognizes that the struggle between his followers and the forces of evil will be age-long, culminating in the final overthrow of the satanic powers at the dawn of the messianic era.[51] When he commands the demons to leave their victims they fall at his feet and plead for mercy. Because of their supernatural knowledge they recognize his messiahship and his authority over them and seek to escape destruction at his hands.[52] According to a Matthean passage[53] they realize the fate awaiting them in the future and seek to postpone it as long as possible.

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[45] Matt. 8:26 f.; Luke 8:24 f.; from Mark 4:39 f.
[46] Mark 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13; cf. Mark 1:12 f.
[47] Matt. 13:19,38 f.; Luke 8:11-15; from Mark 4:13-20.
[48] Matt. 12:24-29; Luke 11:15-20; from Mark 3:22-27.
[49] Matt. 16:22 f.; from Mark 8:32 f. Omitted by Luke.
[50] Matt. 24:24; from Mark 13:22.

Throughout the portions of the first and third Gospels that are based on Mark we find this keen awareness of the presence of the satanic forces and their constant menace to Christians. But there is also a note of assurance of victory over them in both present and future for all who maintain the right relationship to the Messiah who has repeatedly proved his mastery of the powers of darkness.

D. Non-Markan Exorcisms and Related Phenomena in Matthew and Luke

When we turn to the non-Markan portions of Matthew and Luke we find the same consciousness of struggle between the powers of darkness and the Christian forces. Satan, who is in control of the kingdoms of this present world, delegates his authority to whomever he wishes among his followers.[54] As the tempter to sin he has failed repeatedly to bring Jesus under his control,[55] but is still to be feared by all Christians. They must continually seek divine aid to escape his snares.[56] He was responsible for the treachery of Judas[57] and the denial of Peter.[58] The authorities that brought about Jesus' death were in collusion with him.[59] The hostility and conflict between the Church and the satanic hosts are to contimue indefinitely but the faithful are promised eventual victory over his power.[60]

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[51] Matt. 24:29, Luke 21:26; from Mark 13:25, cf. B.W. Bacon, The Gospel of Mark; Its Composition and Date (New Haven, 1925), p. 319.

[52] For an interesting study of this recognition of Jesus as Messiah and Son of God by the demons, as interpreted in Matthew and Luke see Bacon, "The Markan Theory of Recognition of the Christ," Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, VI (1905), 153-58.

[53] Matt. 8:29; based on Mark 5:7.

[54] Luke 4:6.

[55] Matt. 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13.

This non-Markan material also provides some evidence of Jesus' practice of exorcism. In his initial public appearance in the synagogue at Nazareth he is presented as one endowed with the divine spirit to preach the coming of the kingdom, heal the sick and release those bound by Satan.[61] Jesus uses this power in a number of instances, in the healing of various maladies. The hunchback woman, afflicted for eighteen years by a spirit of infirmity sent from Satan, was healed by Jesus' touch.[62] We read in the peculiar Lukan materials four summaries of Jesus' deeds of power, including exorcisms.[63] In reply to the warning against Herod he also expresses his purpose of continuing the customary deeds of exorcism and healing to the end of his career.[64] Matthew has three summary statements of Jesus' healing activities of which the account of healing the blind and lame in the temple is the only real addition to materials already noted.[65]

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[56] Matt. 6:13; cf. 13:24-26,39.

[57] Luke 22:3.

[58] Luke 22:31-34.

[59] Luke 22:53.

[60] Matt. 16:18. This is a peculiar Matthean verse, though the main incident is from a Markan source.

[61] Luke 4:18; cf. 13:11-16 which tells of the release of one held captive by Satan for eighteen years. Note also that the illustrations cited by Jesus in the context, Luke 4:23-27, are those of miraculous deeds, performed by Elijah and Elisha.

[62] Luke 13:11-16.

[63] Luke 6:18 f.; 7:20 f.; 8:2; 19:37.

[64] Luke 13:2.

[65] Matt. 9:35 f.; 19:1 f.; 21:14; the healing of the lame man by Peter and John, Acts 3:6 ff. is naturally suggested by the temple healing. See also Matt. 11:21; Luke 10:13.

There is only one specific case of exorcism recorded in this material, that of a man possessed by a dumb demon, though Matthew has added a duplicate account, with some variations in detail.[66] This incident is given as the occasion for the charge of Jesus' opponents that he drove out demons through the power of Beelzebub. Compared with Markan accounts this incident is very ineffectively presented. Its only reason for inclusion seems to be as the vehicle for bringing in the Markan discussion on the source of Jesus' authority to exorcise demons. To the Markan emphasis upon Jesus as the despoiler of Satan's kingdom we have the claim of Jesus to perform these deeds through the spirit of God.[67] And such mighty works performed by divine power are declared to be unquestioned proof of the coming of the kingdom of God. This is the most clear-cut interpretation of the significance of demonic conquest found in the gospel records. The overthrow of Satan's kingdom is partially accomplished every time one of his representatives is driven from its human abode. And each instance is a decided victory for the kingdom of God.[68] Here we find attributed to Jesus the strongest commendation of the practice of exorcism. For the author this provides the most potent sanction for its continued use by the Christian community.

But this high estimate of such activities is by no means the consistent attitude of this non-Markan material. In fact the passage just noted is followed almost immediately by one in which Jesus is quoted as casting serious doubt upon the value of exorcism. His illustration is that of the evil spirit which, upon being ejected from its human dwelling-place, immediately consorts with seven more malicious demons and returns with its new companions to torment the victim more ruthlessly than before.[69] This shows exorcism as not only temporary in its good results but as productive of a situation much worse than the original. Obviously if such practices bring forth a cure worse than the original malady they are to be shunned consistently.

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[66] Matt. 9:32-34; 12:22-45; Luke 11:14 f.,17-23.

[67] Matt. 12:27 f.; Luke 11:19 f.; the Lukan passage says, "by the finger of God." Cf. a charm to ward off evil spirits "by the finger of God" in a Coptic ostrakon text of 6th or 7th century. W.E. Crum, Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri (London, 1921), pp. 4 f. (no. 522).

[68] Cf. Moffatt, The Theology of the Gospels (London, 1912) p. 50.

There are other portions of this material which show a similar distrust of deeds of power. Not only is there the meagerness of specific data on exorcism as above noted and the fact that much of what is given is of a rather inocuous character. Of great greater significance are the passages which clearly discredit any form of exorcism or display of spectacular power. Near the end of the Sermon on the Mount as recorded in Matthew, Jesus is presented as setting forth the valid credentials of true discipleship. He speaks of some who are confident of the divine favor as a reward for their deeds of exorcism in Jesus' name, and for other types of miraculous activity. But all such, he says, will merit his unqualified condemnation.[70] Neither dynamic nor other pneumatic activities are adequate as a test of true discipleship. All who expect to win divine approval by such means are doomed to bitter disappointment. They will be banished from the Messiah's presence as unworthy of a place with the chosen ones. The author, here shows clearly his conviction that those within the Christian community who persist in the practice of exorcism and allied phenomena are thereby incurring the condemnation of the Master.

Another striking passage depreciating exorcism is found in the peculiar Lukan material. Jesus has sent out the seventy with authority to preach the coming of the kingdom and heal the sick.[71] Upon their return they announce with great enthusiasm a newly acquired power of driving out demons in his name.[72] Their eagerness over this unexpected victory is met with a momentary flash of joy on Jesus' part. He communicates his own vision of Satan's precipitate downfall as beginning at the time when they first exorcised demons in his (Jesus') name. He reveals a further authority given them over all the enemy's machinations, including immunity from poisonous serpents and similar perils. But Jesus' enthusiasm over such victories is brief and restrained. It is tempered by the admonition that such spectacular achievements are far inferior in enduring religious value to other more spiritual attainments. Here again we see clearly reflected a situation in which certain Christians were stressing unduly the dynamic activities at the expense of more inward religious values, and the author issues a solemn warning against such a perversion of attitudes.[73]

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[69] Matt. 12:43-45; Luke 11:24-26.
[70] Matt. 7:21-23.

By way of summary on the presence of exorcism and similar phenomena in Matthew and Luke we may note the following general characteristics:

(1) They reproduce most of the Markan materials on these themes, with modifications which usually heighten their significance.

(2) In some cases they substitute summary statements for

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[71] Luke 10:9; cf. Matt. 10:8a. Matthew has here conflated his account from the sending of the twelve and that of the seventy. But the significant passage decrying exorcistic phenomena has been ommitted in his account. In fact for Matthew the seventy were authorized to exorcise.

[72] Luke 10:17-20.

[73] E.W. Parsons has suggested in an interesting study that this attitude comes most naturally from the environment of Jewish Christianity in Jerusalem where exorcism was opposed because of its violation of official Jewish precept and practice. See

original specific incidents in Mark.[74]

(3) They incorporate a much smaller amount of material on these topics from their non-Markan sources.

(4) This non-Markan material is not uniform in point of view, some distinctly supporting the favorable attitude of Mark while other portions as clearly denounce exorcism as of quite inferior religious value for the Christian community.

(5) Thus while Matthew and Luke actually make reference to more cases of exorcism than does Mark they place much less stress comparatively upon its value and vacillate in their attitudes toward the practice.

(6) Mark is the chief source of the phenomena of exorcism in the Synoptic Gospels.

(7) Even in the portions of the first and third Gospels which distrust exorcism as a practice within the church we find a vivid consciousness of the presence of Satan and his demonic cohorts in this present world and the urgent need for Christians to seek divine help to escape their evil influences.

E. Exorcism in the Gospel of John

When we pass from the synoptic records to the Fourth Gospel we are struck immediately with the difference of atmosphere on the question of exorcism. This account of Jesus' career fails to give even a single case of expulsion of a demon. We find the record of seven specific miracles[75] which are performed as "signs"

Historical Examination of Some Non-Markan Elements in Luke (Chicago, 1914), pp. 41-43.

[74] Matthew particularly does this in his reproduction of the Markan materials, and Luke in the non-Markan.

[75] Turning water into wine at Cana, John 2:1-11; healing the nobleman's son, 4:46-54; healing of the man at the pool of Bethesda, 5:1-9; feeding the five thousand, 6:1-14; walking on the water, 6:16-21; healing the blind man, 9:1-12; raising Lazarus from the dead, 11:1-45. Some would add to this the list the falling to the ground of the soldiers arresting Jesus. 18:6.

or marvelous deeds possessing evidential value in proving Jesus' divine personality. There are also several summaries of Jesus' healing activities and the profound effects they produced upon the people.[76] The purpose of all these "signs" was to produce faith in Jesus' supernatural person. But not one case of exorcism is mentioned as having been performed by Jesus or his disciples. Evidently this author's interpretation of the significance of Jesus' career furnishes an atmosphere in which exorcism would be alien. For this author it would seem to degrade the incarnate Logos to picture him engaged in the magical practices ordinarily followed by Jewish and pagan exorcists of the community.[77] His real meaning for the Church was to be understood in more spiritual terms.[78]

We have a general suggestion of phenomena related to exorcism in the charge brought against Jesus by his enemies that he is possessed by a demon.[79] The charge of course is regarded by the author as preposterous. The significance of the references for our present purpose is the evidence they present for belief in the reality of such experiences. The presence and potency of the prince of evil in the present age is shown in a number of passages.[80] His overthrow is predicted in the words of Jesus in the context where he is discussing his own imminent death, "Now is the judgment of this world. Now shall the prince (ἄρχων) of this world be cast out."[81] Apparently there was no need for exorcism for those who stood in proper relationship to the divine savior. The one who had participated in the blessings of his divine Lord who had conquered death need have no fear of the prince of evil. At any rate such phenomena as exorcism are notably lacking in this Gospel, a striking contrast to the synoptic narratives.

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[76] John 2:23; 4:45; 6:2; 7:3; 12:37; cf. 20:30 f.

[77] Cf. Acts 19:11-19 which shows Ephesus, the home of the Fourth Gospel, as a center for this activity by both Jews and Gentiles. It is also noteworthy that much of the miraculous activity of Apollonius of Tyana, including exorcism, was performed here. See Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Trans. by F.C. Conybeare (New York, 1912), IV. 10; VII. 39; VIII. 7; IV. 20. Cf. also Plutarch, Symposiacs VII. 5.4 on the Ephesian Grammata, efficacious for purposes of exorcism.

[78] Cf. Parsons, op. cit., p. 48.

[79] John 7:20; 8:48 f., 52; 10:20 f.

[80] John 8:44; 12:31; 14:30; 16:11.

F. New Testament References Outside the Gospels to Jesus' Exorcisms and Related Practices

Early Christian literature outside the gospel records is exceedingly meager in specific data on Jesus' exorcism of evil spirits. The absence of such material is easily understood when we recall that the various documents have very little if any interest in presenting a picture of Jesus' earthly career. They have much to say about the Christ of theology and his functions in saving a lost humanity from an evil world. But their concern is not with specific facts in the career of the historical Jesus. These were of decidedly secondary significance as compared with the cosmic meaning of salvation through the divine Savior. Notwithstanding the dominance of the theological, ecclesiastical, soteriological, and similar interests in the early Christian records we find a few traces of the persistence of tradition regarding Jesus' dynamic activities.

The author of the book of Acts, who of course has already given abundant materials on our theme in his gospel, gives two significant summaries of the earthly career of Jesus. Presumably they represent early Christian tradition regarding the purpose of Jesus' earthly ministry. In each case Peter is represented as the speaker, and the occasion is of the greatest import. The apostle is acting as the official spokesman of the new faith. The first represents the initial preaching of the gospel message on the day of Pentecost. In this first proclamation of the new religion to the Jews assembled from all Palestine and the Diaspora we find this significant summary of Jesus' career,

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[81] John 12:31; the term used of Satan's overthrow is ἐκβληθήσεται, a familiar word in accounts of exorcism. On the conflict in the Fourth Gospel between Jesus and the devil see W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (2 aufl., Berlin, 1906), p. 290.

> Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him in the midst of you, even as ye yourselves know;...Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified.[82]

The import of the passage is clear. It was the dynamic activities of Jesus that formed the distinctive element in his career. Endowed by the divine Spirit he had carried on a striking program of exorcism and other marvelous deeds. These had won for him the approval of God in the form of exaltation to the status of Lord and Messiah at God's right hand.

The second instance likewise has official value for the new cult. Peter is here the authoritative representative of the Church as it opens its doors for the first time to the Gentiles. Again the only reference to Jesus' earthly life is primarily a statement of the deliverance of men from Satan's domination. After a statement about the preaching of "good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ"[83] the author continues regarding the purpose of his work, "Him, God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him."[84] Here again Jesus' conquest of the Evil One was of supreme importance. It is noteworthy that these two statements of the work of Jesus from early extra-gospel tradition both stress his deeds of power. Their interpretation of Jesus parallels quite closely that of the other Petrine tradition in Mark, and the contexts picture both Jewish and Gentile Christianity as strongly impressed by such an appeal. At any rate this message furnished a powerful apologetic for the Gentile readers of this document.[85]

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[82] Acts 2:22,36.
[83] Acts 10:36.
[84] Acts 10:38.

Turning to more general statements of Jesus' significance as conqueror of the hosts of evil we discover an abundance of material in the extra-gospel literature. Throughout the early Christian writings we find great unanimity on this theme: one of the chief purposes of Jesus' coming to earth was to conquer Satan and his hosts of evil, that he might bring men freedom from their sway.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us that Jesus assumed human form "that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."[86] In the Johannine literature we read, "To this end was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."[87] We find variations of this theme recurring frequently in Paul. God through Christ has brought a glorious liberation from Satan's dominion. "The Father delivered us out of the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love."[88] This salvation was accomplished through the cross and the resurrection by which the demonic hierarchies were brought into subjection.

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[85] Cf. S.J. Case, Jesus, A New Biography (Chicago, 1927), pp. 79, 108.

[86] Heb. 2:14 f.

[87] I John 3:8.

[88] Col. 1:13.

> And you, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you, I say, did he make alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses; having blotted out the bond that was against us by its ordinances; and he hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; having despoiled the principalities and the powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.[89]

The hostile powers had thought to conquer the Messiah by bringing about his crucifixion,[90] but instead it had proved an agency through which their own downfall was brought about.[91]

Jesus has been raised in heaven to a position of preëminence and mastery over every power of good and evil. God has

> made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this age but also in that which is to come.[92]

But this sovereignty of Christ over all demonic hierarchies is not yet complete. He has conquered death[93] and been exalted to a place of supremacy which insures his ultimate victory, but this final triumph is reserved for the future. Satan is still preying upon mankind through many deceitful wiles[94] but his success is to be short-lived. He is to be subjected with all his allies to the power of the conquering Christ. "For he (Christ) must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death."[95] In the epistle to the Romans, Paul exults in the hope of final conquest with Christ of every hostile cosmic power,

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[89] Col. 2:13-15.

[90] I Cor. 2:8.

[91] For a suggestive study of Christ's conquest of the demons and hierarchies of evil, see W. Morgan, The Religion and Theology of Paul (Edinburgh, 1923), pp. 68 ff. For an interpretation of Christ's death as a triumph over the astral deities who were mediators of the Mosaic law, see B.S. Easton, "The Pauline Theology and Hellenism," American Journal of Theology, XXI (1917), 358-82.

[92] Eph. 1:21; cf. Phil. 2:9-11; I Tim. 6:15; I Peter 3:22.

[93] II Tim. 1:10; Acts 2:24.

[94] Eph. 6:11 ff.; II Cor. 2:10 f.; 4:4; 6:15 f.; Rom. 16:20; I Thess. 2:18; 3:5; II Thess. 2:8 ff.; I Tim. 2:6 f.; I Peter 5:8; I John 5:19. For a discussion of the conflict between Satan and the Christian forces see infra, pp. 47-52.

[95] I Cor. 15:25 f.; cf. Col. 2:15; Rev. 1:18; 12:7-12.

> Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.[96]

Most of the early Christian literature is permeated with this deep sense of gratitude for a marvelous deliverance from harmful spirit powers which has been wrought by the divine Lord.

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[96] Rom. 8:37-39. Apparently for Paul it was the mystical union with Christ, with the consequent indwelling of the Spirit that provided this guarantee of victory over the powers of darkness. Cf. H.R. Willoughby, "The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religions," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1924), pp. 326-29, 407-13, 443-45.

CHAPTER III

THE PRACTICE OF EXORCISM BY THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

A. As Seen in the New Testament

Exorcism and allied phenomena were by no means limited to Jesus' own personal activities. His followers early adopted the same type of practices and became widely known for their proficiency in them. They were employed by both Jewish and Gentile groups within the Church, extending over widely separated geographical areas and persisting for several centuries. Harnack speaks thus of the function of this phase of early Christianity,

> It was as exorcisers that Christians went out into the great world, and exorcism formed one very powerful method of their mission and propaganda. It was a question not simply of exorcising and vanquishing the demons that dwelt in individuals, but also of purifying all public life from them. For the age was ruled by the black one and his hordes (Barnabas); it 'lieth in the evil one,'...(John). Nor was this mere theory; it was a most vital conception of existence. The whole world and the circumambient atmosphere were filled with devils; not merely idolatry, but every phase and form of life was ruled by them. They sat on thrones, they hovered around cradles. The earth was literally a hell, though it was and continued to be a creation of God. To encounter this hell and all its devils, Christians had command of weapons that were invincible.[1]

The early Christian documents indicate clearly that the practice of exorcism was engaged in by Jesus' immediate personal followers. Mark tells us that one of the main purposes of Jesus' choice of the twelve was that they might go out to preach and to have authority to cast out demons.[2] So significant has this practice become for the author of our earliest Gospel that it is assumed as one of Jesus' fundamental interests. Since he was the Messiah, endowed at baptism with the divine Spirit, to carry out the program of overthrowing Satan's kingdom, it was natural that he should organize his movement at its very inception for the same task. Mark further informs us that the twelve in the course of their first missionary tour not only used this new authority of casting out demons but also healed many sick by anointing with oil.[3] The Lukan account of the mission of the seventy disciples indicates that they were commissioned only to preach and heal the sick but later discovered that they were also able to drive out the evil spirits, much to their own amazement.[4] This non-Markan source also suggests a different interpretation regarding the relation of the disciples' exorcism to the coming of the kingdom of God. It shows the downfall of Satan's kingdom as beginning with the first practice of exorcism in the name of Jesus by his disciples. Upon returning to report to Jesus the success of their mission the seventy exclaim in great joy:

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[1] A. Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Early Christianity in the First Three Centuries. Trans. by J. Moffatt (2d ed.; New York, 1904), I, 131.

[2] Mark 3:14 f.; cf. Luke 9:1 f.; Matt. 10:1.

> Lord, even the demons are subject to us in thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven. Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall in any wise hurt you.[5]

Mark places the beginning of Satan's downfall with Jesus' own victories over him, first in the temptation experiences and later in his expulsion of demons from the possessed.[6] Thus we see the presence of the two traditions side by side in early

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[3] Mark 6:7,12 f. The only occurrence of anointing with oil mentioned in the Gospels. Cf. Jas. 5:14 f. which reflects a continuance of the practice in the Church.

[4] Luke 10:8 f.,17-19. Cf. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London, 1909), I, 149.

[5] Luke 10:17 f.

[6] Mark 1:12 f.,21-27,32-34; 3:27, et al.

Christianity, one stressing the prime importance of exorcism and carrying it back to Jesus' own practice; the other discrediting it as of inferior religious significance, omitting it almost altogether from Jesus' own practices, but, forced to recognize it as a fact in contemporary Christian circles, assigning it to the early disciples with only a qualified approval by Jesus himself. The presence of apologetic interests in both records seems clear. The Palestinian source seems to represent the cautious, even suspicious attitude of the more legalistically inclined Jewish group that feared such magical practices as a violation of the Mosaic code;[7] while the Markan account, in its Gentile environment that demanded deeds of power for its savior-gods, probably overpaints the picture of Jesus' dynamic activities.

The pneumatic character of the early Christian movement is evident from the very beginning. The followers of Jesus who formed the first organized group within the new cult lived in a state of intense ecstatic fervor and conceived the whole program of their religion in terms of the direct endowment and guidance of the divine Spirit. One of the early forms taken by this newly attained spiritual endowment was the conquest of the forces of the devil by routing him from those whom he oppressed. The first incident recorded in the book of Acts following the official proclamation of the new faith at Pentecost is the story of Peter's healing of the lame man at the temple gate. To this crippled beggar who looked eagerly for a few coins from the apostles, Peter said, "Silver and gold have I none; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk. And he took him by the right hand and raised him up."[8] and the man was restored to the normal use of his limbs.

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[7] Cf. n. 1, p. 40 above. For a study of the official Jewish attitude toward exorcism, etc. see infra pp. 236-39.

[8] Acts 3:6 f.

The significant element in the healing is the use of the name of Jesus to expel the demon of weakness that had afflicted the man. This is evident from the explanation of Peter to the wondering multitudes who saw the man leaping joyfully in the temple area, "By faith in his name hath his name made this man strong, whom ye behold and know."[9] But it is made even more striking by the attitude taken toward them by the Jewish authorities when they hear of the incident. At once they arrest Peter and John and ask them:

> By what power, or in what name, have ye done this? Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said unto them, ye rulers of the people and elders,....Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even in him doth this man stand before you whole....For neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.[10]

The authorities feared the use of the name of any foreign deity because it implied a recognition of his power, hence it violated Jewish monotheism. They did not oppose the healing as such, but the magical use of the name of Jesus as the means for accomplishing it. Therefore when they released the apostles they gave them the strict injunction to refrain from further activities in this name.[11]

The Acts account also gives a number of summaries of remarkable healing and exorcistic activities wrought by the leaders of the new movement.[12]

> And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people....they even carried out the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that as Peter came by, at least his shadow might overshadow some one

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[9] Acts 3:16.
[10] Acts 4:7-10,12.
[11] Acts 4:17 f.; cf. 5:40-42.
[12] Acts 2:43; 5:12,15-17.

> of them. And there also came together the multitude from the cities round about Jerusalem bringing sick folk, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one.[13]

We also read of two other miraculous acts performed by Peter: the healing of Aeneas who had been bedfast for eight years,[14] and the raising of Dorcas from the dead.[15] The first narrative states that the healing was performed in the name of Jesus; and the same method was probably used in the second though it is not explicitly mentioned. This use of the name of Jesus as a powerful means of exorcising demons is the orthodox Christian method of performing wonderful cures, and the use of it in many of these healing activities strongly suggests the element of exorcism in these deeds.

The power of expelling demons from those tormented was shared by the Hellenistic members of the Christian community in Jerusalem. We read that "Stephen full of grace and power wrought great wonders and signs among the people."[16] Similarly Philip is accredited with having performed many "signs" in Samaria and attracting a popular following.

> And the multitudes gave heed with one accord unto the things that were spoken by Philip, when they heard, and saw the signs which he did. For from many of those that had unclean spirits they came out, crying with a loud voice: and many that were palsied and that were lame were healed. And there was much joy in that city.[17]

Even Simon, a magician of great reputation in the city, was so impressed with these deeds of power and with the evidences of other activities of the Holy Spirit that he sought to purchase this superior power controlled by the Christians. The author is showing clearly that even the most successful pagan exorcists of the time were forced to recognize the superior potency of the name of Jesus and the Holy Spirit operating through the Christian leaders. We recall in this connection also the account of Paul's superior display of supernatural power in the curse of blindness laid upon Elymas the sorcerer.[18]

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[13] Acts 5:12; 15-17.

[14] Acts 9:34.

[15] Acts 9:40-42.

[16] Acts 6:8. It is an interesting question as to how far these dynamic activities were responsible for the martyrdom of Stephen.

[17] Acts 8:6-8.

Paul on many occasions likewise exhibits this power of expelling satanic forces. He tells the Corinthians that the signs of an apostle were wrought by him among them, "by signs, wonders and mighty works."[19] There can be little question that the apostle means to include exorcisms among these achievements. When in Philippi he meets a girl possessed by a pagan god, he turns in great distress and commands the spirit, "I charge thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And it came out that very hour."[20] The account of the work of Paul and Barnabas in Iconium tells of signs and wonders wrought by their hands.[21] At the Jerusalem Council the same apostles rehearse the story of the "signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles through them."[22] During Paul's labors in Ephesus we learn of unusual miracles wrought by his hands.

> And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: insomuch that unto the sick were carried away from his body handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out.[23]

Paul himself reminds the Thessalonians that the Gospel came to them in power and in the Holy Spirit,[24] implying that his preaching was accompanied by dynamic displays. He also challenges the Galatians, who are ready to forsake his gospel, to recall how the many "mighty works" wrought among them had been performed through the Holy Spirit, and not through the observance of the ceremonial requirements of the Jewish law.[25] The careful classification of pneumatic activities practiced in the Corinthian Church distinguishes between "mighty works" and ordinary gifts of healing, with the former as unquestionably the greater.[26] In the light of his usage of terms elsewhere and his own activities he seems clearly to use the term "mighty works" in application to the exorcism of evil spirits. If this interpretation is correct we find Paul engaging in these practices extensively throughout his career.

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[18] Acts 13:11.

[19] II Cor. 12:12.

[20] Acts 16:18. T. Trede, *Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche* (Gotha, 1901), p. 159, suggests that the maiden was possessed by Apollo.

[21] Acts 14:3. [22] Acts 15:12.

[23] Acts 19:11 f. Were these unusual because performed without the name of Jesus or because performed at a distance? Probably the name of Jesus was pronounced over the garments.

[24] I Th. 1:5.

B. Exorcism and Related Themes in the Apostolic Fathers

Evidence of exorcism and related phenomena in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers is very meager as compared with the New Testament references. A study of these documents fails to reveal a single case of exorcism in the ordinary use of the term. There is an incidental reference in Barnabas 5:8 to Jesus' performance of "wonders and signs" but the context does not indicate clearly the exact meaning of the terms for this author. Even if he means to include exorcism in the activities of Jesus, the reference is so general as to have but little significance for our study. And if it were clear-cut it would not furnish certain evidence for the practice within the church in the author's time.

The few passages which mention magical practices uniformly discredit them, either explicitly or by implication. The Didache is most outspoken in its opposition to all forms of magic, having a triple injunction against such practices.[27] It denounces indulgence in magic, the use of philtres, omens, enchantments, astrology, witchcrafts and charms, classifying these with a host of the grosser sins as marks of heathenism which lead to idolatry and renunciation of the faith. Apparently these practices are condemned so vigorously because of the contacts with pagan gods which they involve. Even though these deities are referred to as "dead gods," the author warns his readers against contact with anything connected with their worship as a deadly peril to the faithful.[28]

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[25] Gal. 3:5. [26] I Cor. 12:9 f.

Ignatius in discussing the significance of the birth of Jesus speaks of the dissolution of magic and the destruction of the kingdom of evil as results of his advent.

> A star shone in heaven beyond all the stars, and its light was unspeakable, and its newness caused astonishment, and all the other stars, with the sun and moon, gathered in chorus round this star, and it far exceeded them all in its light; and there was perplexity, whence came this new thing, so unlike them. By this all magic was dissolved and every bond of wickedness vanished away, ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom was destroyed, for God was manifest as man for the 'newness' of eternal life, and that which had been prepared by God received its beginning. Hence all things were disturbed, because the abolition of death was being planned.[29]

The author here is clearly setting forth the triumph of Christ over the forces of evil, but is interpreting its cosmic significance, not any specific case of exorcism during Jesus' earthly career. And the implication regarding all magical practices[30] is that they are works of evil, in conflict with the work of Christ and his followers. Such an attitude seems quite hostile to the practice of exorcism in any form.

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[27] Didache, 2:2; 3:4; 5:1.

[28] Didache, 6:3.

[29] Ignatius Eph. 19:2 f. (Lake's ed.; London, 1914), I,193.

[30] Cf. the reference to the pagan philosophies as the results of the miracle workings of magicians, hence wholly discredited, in Ep. to Diognetus 8:4.

But while there is an absence of exorcistic practices in the Apostolic Fathers it is not because of any lack of conviction regarding the reality or the potency of Satan's malicious dealings with men. There is ample evidence in a number of these documents that the superhuman forces of evil - the devil and his subordinates - are a constant menace in the daily life of the Christian. In many ways the members of the Christian community are facing perils in their ordinary business and social relationships because all pagan life is demon infested.[31] The faithful must be ever on their guard against the wiles of Satan, who seeks by devious means to lead them astray.[32] He tempts to disloyalty toward God and their Christian duty,[33] leads men into error through evil doctrines,[34] and catches the unwary slumbering in their sins, gains control over them and thrusts them out of the kingdom of the Lord.[35] He is on the alert for every opportunity to enter the hearts of men where he can make his abode and deceive the righteous.[36] The evil one is also to be held responsible for such sins as ill-temper, presumption, double-mindedness, the vices of an unruly tongue and even for ecclesiastical offences such as insubordination to the bishops and other properly authorized officials within the church.[37] Satan will make his final attempt to lead men astray through the performance of signs and wonders shortly before the end of all things, but will ultimately suffer defeat at the hands of the exalted Christ.[38]

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[31] *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Vis*. III. 6. 5 f.; *Sim*. IV. 5; IX. 20.2; VIII. 8. 1 f.; *Mand*. X. 1. 4; Ignatius, *Eph.* 5:3; Polycarp, *ad Phil*. II:2; II. Clem. 17:3; cf. H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, im nachapostolischen zeitalter bis auf Irenäus* (Freiburg, 1899), esp. pp. 1-26.

[32] Ignatius *Eph*. 10:3; *Trallians* 4:2; I Clem. 51:1; II Clem. 18:2; *Barnabas* 20:1.

[33] Ignatius *Rom*. 7:1; *Phila*. 6:2.

[34] Ignatius *Eph*. 17:1; Polycarp *Philipp*. 7:1.

[35] *Barnabas* 2:10; 4:9,13; *Hermas*, *Mand*. XI. 1.3.

[36] *Hermas*, *Mand*. XI. 1. 3; *Barnabas* 16:7.

[37] *Hermas*, *Mand*. V. 1.3; V. 2.7; II. 2,3; XII. 2.2; IX. 9; *Sim*. IX. 22.3; Ignatius *Smyr*. 9:1; *Trallians*, chs. 7,8. Some of these passages, particularly in Hermas identify the sins named with demons.

Although the members of the Christian group are in constant peril of the onslaughts of Satan and his forces they are by no means completely at his mercy. For the true follower there are available sources of power for repulsing the advances of evil. Hermas emphasizes the power of a righteous life to conquer the attacks of the devil. He who is pure in heart and has kept himself free from contamination by the "vain desires of this world" has no need to fear Satan. Such a faithful Christian is promised the aid of the angel of repentance in overcoming the adversary.[39]

Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians assures his readers of victory in their struggle with evil. In the light of his characteristic emphasis upon unity within the church, under the authority of the bishop, it is not surprising to find his stress upon frequent public assemblies dominated by a spirit of harmony, as a means of routing the enemy.

> Seek then to come together more frequently to give thanks and glory to God. For when you gather together frequently the powers of Satan are destroyed, and his mischief is brought to nothing, by the concord of your faith.[40]

Social solidarity and an atmosphere of the closest intimacy fostered by a spirit of genuine unity of purpose undoubtedly are here recognized as powerful factors in building a morale within the Christian group that would make them practically invincible before any hostile forces. But the question naturally arises as to whether this is the full significance of such experiences for the author. If the exhortation to frequent assemblies refers not merely to services of common worship but also to the celebration of the Eucharist as seems quite likely,[41] it is very probable that such religious gatherings have a more realistic significance in the Christians' conquest of the satanic hosts. We know from this same epistle that Ignatius regards the sacred meal as possessing sacramental significance. It is "the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live forever in Jesus Christ."[42] Through participation in this sacramental meal the individual receives into his personality a divine essence or increment that provides a prophylactic against all forms of evil - including the attacks of Satan - and guarantees immortality to the participant.

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[38] Didache 16:4.
[39] Hermas, Mand. XII.4-6; cf. Mand. VII.2.
[40] Ignatius Eph. 13:1 (Tr. Lake; London, 1914), I, 187.

For Ignatius the individual Christian has been purified from the taint of sin and Satan by the baptismal waters of regeneration, which have been freed from demonic contamination by the baptism of Christ himself.[43] The further victory over the prince of evil is assured through frequent participation in the sacred meal, by means of which divine energy and purifying potency are incorporated into the person of the believer. As in the case of Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel, the supreme means of conquest of the evil spirits is the indwelling divine essence which makes the individual a new creation and provides immunity from all forms of harm.[44]

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[41] Lake, *ibid*., n. 1.

[42] Ignatius *Eph*. 20:2.

[43] Ignatius *Eph*. 18:2. "For our God, Jesus the Christ... was baptized, that by himself submitting he might purify the water."

[44] That this means of protection against hostile spirit forces was well known in current Hellenistic religions is shown in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*; H. R. Willoughby, "The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religions," Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1924, pp. 443-45; cf. *infra* pp.378-87.

C. Exorcism in the Apologists

Turning to the writings of the Apologists we again find ourselves in the atmosphere of "orthodox" demonology and exorcism so familiar in the Markan record. While this applies particularly to Justin and Tatian there are traces of it elsewhere. There is little reference to specific instances of Jesus' own practice of exorcism[45] during his earthly career but the cosmic significance of his conquest of Satan is clearly set forth. According to Justin the main purpose of his mission on earth was the overthrow of the powers of evil. "The Son of God became man in order to destroy the demons."[46] This conquest of Satan and his hosts is a proof of Christ's endowment with divine power before which all evil agencies stand in mortal fear. "You can perceive that the concealed power of God was in Christ the crucified, before whom demons, and all the principalities and powers of the earth, tremble."[47]

The evil demons are just as real in the environment of these Apologists as in the gospel records. They permeate and contaminate the atmosphere of the individual's existence and of all public life. The whole social order is infested with these nefarious spirits that bring a multitude of woes upon mankind. Every institution of pagan religion is nothing more nor less than some form of worship of these wicked demons.[48] Every individual in the normal course of his daily activities is inevitably brought into many contacts with the demonic hordes. Escape from such contacts is impossible, either in business or in social relationships. They have inspired the worship of the pagan deities, with their unholy rites, doctrines and vices.[49] The oracles of these cults are nothing but the "trickeries of frenzied demons."[50] These malicious spirits have deceived men through false philosophies and prophecies, visions, magical practices, the mythologies of the heathen religions, the dissemination of lies about the Christians, and the imitation of the sacred rites of the church in the pagan mysteries.[51] They lead men to the worship of idols and the sacrifices connected therewith because of their insatiable thirst for blood.[52] These diabolical powers, not content with the promulgation of all forms of evil through these false religions, go even further in their attacks upon the church. The true followers of Christ are assailed and tempted in every conceivable manner.[53] They are beguiled from the true faith through miraculous deeds and false teachings of the heretical sects. Simon Magus, Meander, Marcion and other heretics are agents of these demonic powers, who try to lead men into iniquity through the guise of Christian teaching.[54] They take up their abode in men and cause many diseases, then claim to cure the maladies by removing the causes.[55] They have even gone so far as to pervert many of the good things of nature to evil purposes.[56] In a word these demonic agencies are responsible for every evil influence in the life of the individual and every peril in the existing social order. They are a multitudinous force infesting all society with their deadly menace. The pagan social order is completely under their control. Christians can escape their dread attacks only through alliance with the divine power adequate to crush them and bring their evil designs to nought.

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[45] See Justin Apol., ch. 30; Dial. with Trypho, ch. 49.

[46] Justin Apol., II:6; quoted from Harnack, Mission and Expansion of Christianity, I.134.

[47] Justin Dial., ch. 49; trans. from ANF I.220.

[48] Justin Apol. I.ch. 5; cf. ch. 9; Dial., chs. 27,73; Tatian Address to the Greeks, chs. 8, 12, 14.

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[49] Justin *Apol*. I: ch. 64; II. ch. 5.

[50] Tatian *Address*, ch. 12.

[51] Justin *Apol*. I: chs. 10,14,18,25,54,62,66,69,70,78; Tatian *Address*, ch. 9; Athenagoras *Plea for the Christians*, chs. 26,27.

[52] Athenagoras, ch. 26.

[53] Tatian, ch. 12; Justin *Apol*. I. ch. 5; Athenagoras, ch. 27.

[54] Justin *Apol*. I; chs. 14,26,56,58.

[55] Tatian, ch. 18; cf. Justin *Apol*. I. ch. 18.

[56] Tatian, ch. 17.

That this power of conquering the evil spirits is possessed by Christ is a fact daily demonstrated. Not only are Christians who have the indwelling spirit of God able to see these spirits that torment their fellow men,[57] but Christian exorcists are noted for their ability to frustrate their every design through the divine power at their disposal. The demons are rendered powerless at the mention of the name of Jesus.

> But 'Jesus,' His name as man and Saviour, has also significance. For He was made man also, as we before said, having been conceived according to the will of God, the Father, for the sake of believing men, and for the destruction of the demons. And now you can learn this from what is under your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our Christian men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.[58]

One of the most significant elements in this method of exorcism is the recital of important facts in Jesus' career, especially those which guarantee his divine authority. This recounting of the steps by which Jesus attained his exalted status would identify him for the demons as their supreme enemy, the one held in the greatest dread by every evil spirit. In this Dialogue with Trypho, Justin indicates the aspects of Jesus' career to which attention is directed.

> For every demon, when exorcised in the name of this very Son of God - who is the Firstborn of every creature, who became man by the Virgin, who suffered, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate by your nation, who died, who rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven - is overcome and subdued. But though you exorcise any demon in the name of any of those

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[57] Tatian, ch. 15.
[58] Justin *Apol*. II., ch. 6., (Tr. in *ANF*), I,190.

who were amongst you - either kings, or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs - it will not be subject to you.[59]

This introduction of an embryonic creed into the formula of exorcism is a new feature found first in this period. The earlier records of the New Testament period show the practice of exorcism in the name of Jesus but there is no indication that the exorcist added a statement of the qualifications of the one whose authority was being evoked. This recital of the deeds of power or the exalted status and authority of the divine power whose name was used is, however, quite in keeping with the practices in various non-Christian groups in the Gentile world. The magical papyri of a later period provide ample evidence for this method of exorcism.[60] Perhaps such descriptive statements were first employed in connection with the use of Jesus' name in exorcism by those who were not members of the Christian group, but who wished to enlarge their stock of efficacious names and formulae. In order to identify the power invoked it was desirable to give these specific data about him. We recall at once the case in Ephesus in which the Jewish exorcists sought to drive out demons "by Jesus whom Paul preacheth."[61] From some such usage it would be an easy step to a brief theological statement about Jesus, which would in time be elaborated according to the demands of a particular situation. These statements would in the course of time tend to become standardized. Conybeare's suggestion[62] that we have in these statements the beginnings of the development of the creeds of the early church is an attractive one which has the marks of plausibility. There is a strong probability that many from whom evil spirits had been expelled would soon adopt the faith of the one to whom they were indebted for their recovery,[63] and in such cases the formula of exorcism would be a convenient form for the expression of their own faith.

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[59] Justin Dial., ch. 85, ANF. I.241; cf. chs. 30,49,76; Tat Tatian, ch. 16.

[60] See infra, 200-01 for a fuller discussion of this topic.

[61] Acts 19:13.

[62] F.C. Conybeare, Jewish Quarterly Review, IX (1896), 93 f.; cf. J.N. Reagan, The Preaching of Peter: the Beginning of Christian Apologetic (Chicago, 1923), pp. 40-42.

Justin shows clearly the prevalence of certain forms of exorcism among both Jewish and Gentile contemporaries, but is confident of the uniform success of the Christians even when the others fail.[64] Their methods and the name of Jesus which they use are both superior to those employed by others. So deep is Justin's conviction of that Jesus power could crush all demonic hostility that he tells us Jesus' conquest of the evil spirits was a part of the plan of God extending back into antiquity. It was even foretold in the sacred writings of the Old Testament.

> ...he makes it manifest through Jesus, who was crucified, of whom also those symbols were fore-announcements of all that would happen to Him, the demons would be destroyed, and would dread His name, and that all principalities and kingdoms would fear Him; and that they who believe in Him out of all nations would be shown as God-fearing and peaceful men; and the facts already quoted by me, Trypho, indicate this.[65]

This attestation of the greatness of Christ coming from the distant past furnished a powerful proof of his superiority over all opponents. The Apologists never weary of citing the remote antiquity of Judaism, from which their own religion naturally came, as an indubitable proof of its superiority to all non-Christian faiths. And, likewise, the prediction, in this divinely revealed word of the past, of the future conquest of Christ over the forces of Satan is a potent reenforcement of the actual cases of exorcism witnessed frequently by those in pagan society. It is another form of divine authentication of Jesus' power and significance as master of the cosmic forces of iniquity and one which in the second century would carry the greatest weight.

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[63] Irenaeus tells us (II.31.2) that such was the case in Lyons, where many cured demoniacs came into the church.

[64] Justin Dial., ch. 85.

[65] Justin Dial., ch. 131; ANF. I.265b; cf. Apol., ch. 31.

D. Exorcism in the Apocryphal Literature

The apocryphal literature presents some interesting phenomena in the whole field of miraculous display. Throughout practically the whole of this extensive material we have an atmosphere surcharged with supernaturalism. These authors revel in accounts of the most amazing incidents in proof of the power of Christian leaders and the invincible and divine character of their religion. Not only do these records abound in the narration of marvelous deeds of exorcism and healing, including the resuscitation from the dead on a wholesale scale; they also move in an environment of speaking animals and demons, of streams of water and flames of fire bursting forth to safeguard the faithful from peril, of savage beasts refusing to harm the innocent but devouring their wicked persecutors, of earthquakes, thunder, lightning, mysterious signs, blinding streams of light, heavenly wreaths of flowers descending on the faithful martyrs, and many other miraculous phenomena vouchsafed the faithful followers of Christ.

The purposes of all these unusual occurrences are to prove Christ's divine power, protect his servants, overcome the hostility of all opposing forces and advance the triumphant spread of the Christian faith. In spite of the diversity of these materials in content, date, authorship, purpose, provenance and theology there is a surprising unanimity in their emphasis upon the miraculous.[66] Wherever we turn we find the same lack of restraint in the depiction of weird and magical performances as means of supernatural authentication of the Christian movement. But the purpose of this study permits only a brief notice of some of the principal features of exorcistic practices in these writings.

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[66] For a study of the prevalence of miracle stories in the Gentile world of this period, see R. Reitzenstein, Hellenistische

The devil and his forces are just as active in these narratives as in the materials previously studied. Upon them is placed the customary responsibility for sickness, death, theological aberrations, moral laxity and many other evils. It is noticeable, however, that while much attention is given to the demonic cause of diseases there is scant mention of the type of possession found so frequently in the canonical gospels. Maniacs and sufferers from nervous diseases are very rare in these accounts. The attacks of the demons generally lead to some form of moral perversion. Of these who are led into sin by the assaults of the demons a surprisingly large number are guilty of some kind of sexual excess. This is easily understood when we recognize the ascetic character of many of these works, the Gnostic attitude of the evil nature of the flesh and all its normal functions, that dominates many of them, and the consequent emphasis upon the celibate ideal for both men and women. By such groups the normal sex relations of married life were denounced as iniquitous. It is quite natural for the various authors to attribute to the devil and his associates those practices which they regard as most abhorrent, and as the greatest barriers to the progress of Christianity. Hence the demons frequently lead men or women into sinful relationships while the efforts of the Christian leaders are devoted untiringly to active conquest of the devils and their

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Wundererzählungen. For original sources abounding in such narratives see Apuleius The Golden Ass. Trans. by Adlington, rev. by Gaselee (London, 1915) and Lucian Philopseudes.

fiendish work.

The satanic forces are also busily engaged in leading men into errors through the teaching of false doctrines. To make the deception the greater such agents of Satan are endowed with the power of performing marvelous deeds of magic. Simon Magus is the most striking example of such a heretical leader who wrought havoc among the followers of the true faith in Rome through his persuasive words and his arts of sorcery. Posing as an agent of God, the channel of divine power, he is in reality the emissary of Satan. Through his deceptive wiles devastation is wrought in the church wherever he goes. Even the senator Marcellus, the generous and beneficent friend of all in need in Rome, is caught in the snares of this arch-deceiver. The situation becomes so desperate for the faithful here in the empire's capital that the Lord through a vision directs Peter to hasten to Rome and expose the deceptions of this enemy of the faith. The contest between Peter and Simon Magus, described at great length with all the embellishments of supernaturalism common to the period, finally ends in the destruction of Simon and the vindication of the true gospel.[67] Though the case of Simon is the most famous it is but typical of a number of instances of satanic deception through false doctrines. This type of demonic activity of which we have a few traces in the later New Testament books and the Apologists has here come to great prominence. This again mirrors accurately the development of the interests in the church of the second and succeeding centuries. As the problem of conformity to the doctrines and practices of the orthodox Christian group became a vital one, it was essential to safeguard the true faith against all foes from within as well as without its fold. Those from within the ranks who taught doctrines or followed practices subversive of the common standards were inevitably branded as children of the devil. No more successful defense of the orthodox practices and condemnation of the heterodox could be put forth than the dramatic narration of how the deceptions of heretics had been exposed and their power crushed by the apostles of the faith in days gone by. The development and persistence of these stories in so many narratives is a pretty clear indication of the function they served in building up loyalty to the orthodox faith.

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[67] Vercelli Acts of Peter, secs. IV-XXXII, in M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924), pp. 306-32.

The actual practice of exorcism is frequently presented in these materials.[68] Most of the features are so familiar as to need no lengthy discussion here. The name of Jesus is still the powerful agent for driving out the demons. In some cases the exorcist uses "the Lord Jesus Christ,"[69] in some "Christ,"[70] in others apparently the name of God[71] is used for this purpose. Apparently there is not the same necessity for the use of the name "Jesus" as seems to have been the case in the first century. It seems to have been the person bearing the name and not the particular form of it that was of real significance. In some cases in these records we find the name of Christ so powerful that its utterance even by a pagan brought the destruction of all idols in the speaker's presence.[72] Other accounts do not indicate clearly the exact formula used for the expulsion of the demons[73] In a number of instances the man of God utters a long prayer that is powerful in driving away the fiends.[74] These prayers often contain brief creedal summaries similar to those noted in the exorcism formulae in the Apologists. Apparently the purpose is very similar. The possessed person (for them, the demon) is thus informed in solemn fashion of the divinity and the mighty deeds of the power whose name is being invoked against him. The demon's pleas for mercy which are found in some of these records parallel closely the appeals to Jesus[75] by the spirits in the accounts of the canonical gospels.

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[68] E.g., Acts of John 13,16,18; Acts of Paul 56; Acts of Peter (Vercelli) 11; Acts of Andrew 5,7,14,17,19; Acts of Thomas 20,31-33,42-47,59.

[69] Acts of Peter (Vercelli) 11; cf. Acts of John 16,18.

[70] Acts of Pilate, appendix, in James, op. cit., p. 154.

[71] Acts of John 41,79.

[72] Acts of Pilate, appendix, in James, op. cit., p. 154.

[73] Acts of Andrew 5,7,14,17,19.

It remains to note another feature of the atmosphere of these narratives. The air of the magic arts pervades most of them. We find the Christian leaders frequently accused of sorcery[76] by their enemies, and our judgment justifies such an interpretation. Christianity for these heroes, while stressing certain ethical and theological requirements, is primarily a great reserve of supernatural power upon which they may draw at will to overcome their enemies and establish the supremacy of their religion. The conflict with such enemies as Simon Magus is on this plane of competitive miracle display - each trying to outdo the other - and the one with the greater control of magical power is declared the victor. Likewise the rites of baptism and the Eucharist are ceremonies, the proper observance of which guarantees magical protection from the further attacks of the hosts of evil. Life, for the people of these narratives, is a great cosmic drama in which the forces of good and evil are arrayed against each other in deadly combat. Men are the stake in this great conflict but they are also participants in it. Those who have been initiated properly into the army of the Lord, who have received his seal and retain vital contact with him through participation in the sacred meal have a prophylactic against the onslaughts of the evil one and his hordes. This vital relation with Christ guarantees conquest over the hostile powers in the present age and salvation from their influence in the next.

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[74] Acts of Thomas 43, cf. 47.

[75] Some passages tell of the power of the commandments to cause the demons to flee, e.g., Acts of Pilate XV.6 (Rec. A); Jas. op. cit., p. 111.

[76] Acts of Pilate II.5; Jas., op. cit., p. 99 (Rec. A); Acts of Thomas 16.

E. Exorcism in the Church Fathers, from Tertullian to Augustine

The phenomena of exorcism receive extensive treatment in most of the writings of the great Church Fathers of this period. The conflict of the church with environing paganism is so bitter as to leave many traces in the attitudes of the Christians toward all opposing elements of the social order. As was inevitable in their time these pagan forces that permeated society and created serious problems for the spread of the Christian movement were interpreted in terms of the activity of super-human forces of evil. These Christian leaders devote much attention to the nature and functions of the demons in the social order as a whole and particularly in their relation to the church. In fact the whole of life is so dominated by these forces that they could not disregard them if they would. As Tertullian tells us, "Satan and his angels have filled the whole world."[77] We can note only in a summary fashion some of the chief functions of these evil spirits and the current methods of ridding society of their malicious influences.

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[77] Tertullian De. Spect. 8; Ante Nicene Christian Library XI (Edinburgh, 1882), 16 f.

in this great conflict but they are also participants in it. Those who have been initiated properly into the army of the Lord, who have received his seal and retain vital contact with him through participation in the sacred meal have a prophylactic against the onslaughts of the evil one and his hordes. This vital relation with Christ guarantees conquest over the hostile powers in the present age and salvation from their influence in the next.

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[77] Tertullian De. Spect. 8; Ante Nicene Christian Library XI (Edinburgh, 1882), 16 f.

The interest of some of the writers in describing the nature of these beings reminds us of non-Christian writers, such as Apuleius and Plutarch,[78] and shows clearly the influence of Greek thinking. Clement of Alexandria speaks of demons as

> unclean and impure spirits, acknowledged by all to be of an earthly and watery nature, sinking downwards by their own weight, and flitting about graves and tombs, about which they appear dimly, being but shadowy phantasms.[79]

Origen says that they cannot rise to a purer and diviner region because of the grossness of their nature.[80] Among their favorite haunts are shady fountains, hidden streams of water, public baths, cisterns, wells and water pipes in houses.[81] They have wings and are able to fly from place to place with incredible speed.[82]

They are variously referred to, as heathen gods[83] who delight in the sacrifices offered by men, in human slaughter, insanity, and other human perversions;[84] as souls of the dead inhabiting the bodies of the living;[85] or as fallen angels[86] that attempt to lead men astray through various wiles. According to some of our sources, demons, angels and other superhuman powers existed long before the creation described by Moses.[87]

The functions ascribed to these evil powers are legion.

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[78] See Apuleius, On the God of Socrates (London, 1914); Plutarch, Morals (London, 1882). Cf. T.R. Glover, "The Daimon Environment of the Early Christians," Hibbert Journal, XI (1915).

[79] Exhortation to the Heathen, Ch. IV; ANF, II, 187 f.

[80] Cels. III, 35; ANCL, XXIII, 117.

[81] Tertullian, De Bapt. 5; quoted by Glover, loc. cit., 165.

[82] Tertullian, Apology, Ch. XXII; ANCL, XI, 97 f.

[83] E.g., Clement of Alex. Paed., Bk. II, Ch. I; Eusebius, HE, IX.10.2; Praep. Ev. IV.15-23; Tertullian, Apology, Chs. 12, 23; De Spect. 9,13; Origen, C.Cels. III.3; VII.68-70; Lactantius, Div. Inst. II.15.

[84] Clement of Alex., Exhortation to the Heathen, III.1; Origen, Cels. III.37; IV.32; Augustine, Ep., Ch. II.18-20.

[85] Tertullian, De Anima, 57.

[86] Cyprian, On Vanity of Idols, 6; On the Dress of Virgins, 14; Origen, Cels. VII.69; Tertullian, Apol., Ch. 35; Minucius Felix, Octavius, Ch. 26.

[87] Ambrose, In Psal. I.2; Jerome, In Tit. I.2-9; Basil, Hexaem. I.5.

They are charged with everything from inspiring whole systems of false philosophies and religions[88] to teaching women the deceitful arts of painting their faces and dyeing their hair;[89] from leading swinish men into gluttony[90] to instigating persecution of the Christians.[91] Cyprian's description of their blighting influence on human life is typical,

> These spirits, therefore, are lurking under the statues and consecrated images: these inspire the breasts of their prophets with their afflatus, animate the fibres of the entrails, direct the flights of birds, rule the lots, give efficiency to oracles, are always mixing up falsehood with truth, for they are both deceived and they deceive; they disturb their life, they disquiet their slumbers; their spirits creeping also into their bodies, secretly terrify their minds, distort their limbs, break their health, excite diseases to force them to worship of themselves, so that when glutted with the steam of the altars and the piles of cattle, they may unloose what they had bound, and so appear to have effected a cure. The only remedy from them is when their own mischief ceases; nor have they any other desire than to call men away from God, and to turn them from the understanding of the true religion, to superstition with respect to themselves; and since they themselves are under punishment, (they wish) to seek for themselves companions in punishment whom they may by their misguidance make sharers in their crime.[92]

As this passage indicates clearly the evil spirits are made responsible for bringing upon men physical ills, mental disturbances, moral degradation and religious perversion. They enslave men through the rites of the pagan cults, being lured on by their insatiable thirst for the blood of the sacrificial victims.[93] Such practices are said to have been universal among men until Christianity began to exert its restraining influence.[94]

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[88] Cyprian *Ad Demetr.* 15; Hippolytus *Ref. of all Heresies* I.1; Tertullian *De Anima* I and II; Origen *C. Cels.* VIII.44 and 48.

[89] Cyprian *On Dress of Virgins*, p. 14.

[90] Clement of Alex. *Paed.* II.1; cf. Chrysostom *Comm. on Matt.*, *Homily* p. 28, sec. 4.

[91] Cyprian *On Vanity of Idols*, p. 7; Minucius Felix *Oct.* 27; Eusebius *HE*, V.1.5.

[92] Cyprian *On Vanity of Idols*, p. 7; *ANCL* VIII, 447.

[93] Augustine *De Civ. Dei*, VI.9; Origen *Cels*. III.34; VII. 30; Eusebius *HE*, Bk. IV, chap. XVIII.

[94] Eusebius, *loc. cit.*

Tertullian says that the demons seek to hold the homage of their worshippers lest they become Christians and destroy them (demons).[95] To them are attributed such practices as astrology, divination, augury, magic, portents, prodigies, and all miracles performed by pagans and heretics.[96] In the Apostolic Constitutions we read that magicians and those of similar occupations were required to undergo a long period of probation before being received for baptism,[97] apparently because of the contamination attaching to such callings.

These spirits enter human beings for various reasons and bring upon men many forms of evil. In some cases men are possessed that the demons may gratify their desires for food and drink or for sexual pleasures.[98] In many others they produce physical ills. Often after so possessing people, they prescribe a remedy, withdraw their evil influence and then claim credit for having cured the disease.[99]

People may become possessed by these spirits through a variety of contacts. One of the most common ways is through eating food contaminated by their presence, especially sacrificial meats.[100] Men are also endangered by such social contacts as come in the theatre, the games, and other forms of demon-infested pleasures, carried on under idolatrous auspices.[101] So perilous are these demons and so pervasive in the pagan social order that it is almost impossible to escape their influence. Tertullian expresses the belief that there are but few human beings who are unattended by demons,[102] but those who suffer premature and violent deaths are their most conspicuous victims.

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[95] *Apol*. 23.

[96] Lactantius *Div. Inst*. II.17; Irenaeus *Adv. Haer*. II.31.3; Origen Cels. IV.92-95; VIII.60; Hippolytus *Ref. of all Heresies* IV.1-42; VI; 2; VII.20; Arnobius *Adv. Gentes* VI.2; Augustine *De Civ. Dei* VIII.22.

[97] VIII.32.

[98] *Clem. Hom*. IX.10.

[99] Tertullian *De Anima* 57.

[100] Porphyry, in Euseb. *Praep. Ev*. IV.23; *Clem. Hom*. II.71; VIII.20.

[101] Cyril Cat. XIX.6-8; Tertullian *De Spect*. 26 (cf. 10); Minucius Felix *Oct*. 26,27.

With individuals thus afflicted and the social order so dominated by these malicious spirits the religion that can offer release brings untold blessings to mankind. Such deliverance from the powers of evil is repeatedly claimed to be wrought by Christianity. Not only are there general references to Christ's conquest of the forces of evil and the liberation of those bound by the devil,[103] but many specific cases of the Christian's practice of exorcism are given. True Christians have nothing to fear from the demons but wield a power strong enough to bring them into subjection.

We find a number of means employed by the Christians of this period in conquering Satan's forces. Eusebius mentions the triumph of the true follower of Christ over these sinister powers by a life of chastity, prudence and perfect virtue,[104] Origen also claims the conquest over even "the prince of this world" himself for those who submit to God alone and His Word."[105] Such will be under the protecting care of God's guardian angels who will preserve them from all evil.[106]

Augustine also stresses the importance of true piety as a prerequisite for the conquest of the forces of evil. Only he who is free from sin can hope to subdue the adversary. Earnest prayer in the name of the sinless Savior and Mediator produces the condition necessary for this victory.[107] The use of prayer is mentioned by a number of writers, and usually as a preliminary measure. It apparently puts the exorciser in proper touch with divine power to make the exorcism possible, but further steps are required for the actual expulsion of the demon.[108] The additional steps involved vary according to the situation, but often include words uttered by the exorcist, the quotation of Scripture passages, the names of God, of Jesus or of some of the angels, and other powerful words. Attention is also called to the need for faith on the part of healer and patient for the best and most immediate results. In some cases the singing of hymns provided the proper atmosphere of enthusiasm to make possible the desired results.[109] Augustine records a striking experience of one of his presbyters during his own absence from home. This man through the celebration of the Eucharist and fervent prayer drove evil spirits from the family, servants and cattle of a neighbor.[110] The relief from the malicious spirits was immediate.

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[102] Tertullian De Anima, 57.

[103] E.g., Hippolytus Fragments from Comm. on Luke 13:15 f.; In ANCL VI.453; Clement of Alex. Protr. 3; cf. Exc. ex. Theodoto 72,78, in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 78 f.; Irenaeus Adv. Haer. I.24.2, in ANF I.349; Origen Cels. I.60; in ANCL, X.463.

[104] Eusebius Praep. Ev. IV.XXI., Gifford's Ed. III. I.187.

[105] Origen Cels. VIII.36 (cf. 27), in ANCL, XXIII.521 f.

[106] Cf. Lactantius Div. Inst. II.16; see also a letter by Valentinus, quoted by Clement of Alex. in Strom. II.20.114.

Exorcism was sometimes performed through the observance of fasting and other ascetic practices. We find this method advocated in the Clementine Homilies. "Hence in order to the putting of demons to flight, the most useful help is abstinence, and fasting, and suffering of affliction."[111] The author does not indicate whether the salutary effects produced are dependent on the physical condition of the patient, the lack of sustenance for the indwelling spirit or the moral power gained by the patient through following out this regimen of spiritual discipline. But he speaks with confidence of the results attained.

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[107] Augustine De Civ. Dei X.22.

[108] Origen Cels. VII.67; Minucius Felix Oct. 27; Augustine De Civ. Dei XXII.8; cf. Tertullian De Anima I. and LVII.

[109] Augustine loc. cit.

[110] Augustine De Civ. Dei XXII.8.

Healings of various kinds, as well as exorcisms, are said to come through the use of holy water and oil.[112] Augustine tells of a young woman of Hippo who was freed from a devil by "anointing herself with oil, mixed with the tears of the presbyter who had been praying for her."[113]

A few passages speak of the efficacy of the exorcist's breath in driving out demons. Tertullian says this is accompanied by his touch and the use of the name of Christ.[114] Dionysius of Alexandria, as quoted in Eusebius, mentions other features of the exorcist's procedure, - his presence, his look his breathing and his speech - as all contributing to the task of frustrating "the artifices of wicked demons."[115]

The power of the cross in overcoming satanic spirits is repeatedly emphasized. This symbol of the death of Jesus and its redemptive efficacy is said to have marvelous potency in setting at nought every design of these evil forces, even to rendering ineffective the religious rites offered to pagan deities.

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[111] IX.10; in *NPNF*, XVII.153; cf. Pseudo Clement *On Virginity*, I.12.

[112] *Apost. Const.* VIII.29.

[113] *De Civ. Dei* XXII.8; in *NPNF*, 1st ser., II, 488.

[114] *Apol.* 23; cf. breathing upon the initiate in baptism to expel the spirits in Kleopas *Procat.* par. 14; in *NPNF* 2d series, Vol. VII; Introduction to Cyril of Jerusalem, p. XX and n. 7.

[115] In Eusebius *H.E.* VII.10.4.

How great a terror this sign is to the demons, he will know who shall see how, when adjured by Christ, they flee from the bodies which they have besieged. For as He Himself, when He was living among men, put to flight all the demons by His word, and restored to their former senses the minds of men who had been excited and maddened by their dreadful attacks; so now His followers, in the name of their Master, and by the sign of His passion, banish the same polluted spirits from men. And it is not difficult to prove this. For when they sacrifice to their gods, if anyone bearing a marked forehead stands by the sacrifices are by no means favourable.[116]

While all these other means are used on occasions the most frequent and most potent method of exorcism is through the use of Jesus' name. Sometimes the mere mention or invocation of this powerful name is sufficient.[117] It also performs other miraculous deeds and produces noble character in those saved from satanic influence. In other cases the name of Jesus is supplemented with "other words in which they repose faith according to the Holy Scriptures."[118] These "other words" are narratives of the career of Jesus recited to prove to the demons the power and authority of the name invoked against them. They are often brief creedal statements about Jesus' significance as a divine personality, placing particular stress upon his death, resurrection, exaltation to heaven and future triumph over all enemies.[119] A recital of such facts about Jesus identifies him as the mighty deity[120] to whom all evil spirits were subject and at once insures conquest over them. The power of the name of Jesus to drive out the demons is doubly proved by its efficacy when pronounced even by non-Christians.

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[116] Lactantius Div. Inst. IV.27; in ANF, VII.129; cf. Tertullian De Idol. V; Augustine De Civ. Dei XXII.8; Apocalypse of Gregory Thaumaturgus, in Reitzenstein Poimandres, p. 30, n. 1; Origen Cels. I.31.

[117] Eusebius on Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana, ch. IV.; cf. Irenaeus Adv. Haer. II.32.4.

[118] Origen Cels. I.6; in ANCL, X.403.

[119] Origen l.c.; Tertullian Apol. 23.

[120] Cf. "I adjure you by Jesus, the God of the Hebrews," in the magical papyrus of Wessely, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. 36 (Wien, 1888), 120, l. 3019.

> For it is not by incantations that Christians seem to prevail (over evil spirits), but by the name of Jesus, accompanied by the announcement of the narratives which relate to Him; for the repetition of these has frequently been the means of driving demons out of men, especially when those who repeated them did so in a sound and genuinely believing spirit. Such power, indeed, does the name of Jesus possess over evil spirits, that there have been instances where it was effectual, when it was pronounced even by bad men, which Jesus Himself taught (would be the case), when He said: 'Many shall say to me in that day, in Thy name we have cast out devils, and done many wonderful works.'[121]

To provide additional certainty of success the exorcist often coupled the name of God or of some of the angels, or both, with that of Jesus. The mysterious potency resident in such names is set forth by Origen in a characteristic passage on this theme which fascinated him greatly.

> And when one is able to philosophize about the mystery of names, he will find much to say respecting the titles of the angels of God, of whom one is called Michael, and another Gabriel, and another Raphael, appropriately to the duties which they discharge in the world, according to the will of the God of all things. And a similar philosophy of names applies also to our Jesus, whose name has already been seen, in an unmistakeable manner, to have expelled myriads of evil spirits from the souls and bodies (of men), so great was the power which it exerted upon those from whom the spirits were driven out.[122]

The same author tells of the use of descriptive phrases recounting the mighty deeds of the God of Israel in conquering his enemies. Apparently the victory over the Egyptians at the Red Sea[123] was a favorite topic of such accounts, not only because of its dramatic possibilities, but also because the Egyptians were noted magicians and exorcists, whose conquest at the hands of Yahweh would provide a powerful proof of his superior authority.

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[121] Origen Cels. I.6; in ANCL, X.402; cf. Cels. III.28; Cyprian On Rebap. VII.; Tertullian Apol. XXIII.

[122] Cels. I.25; in ANCL, X.423.

[123] IV.34; cf. Eusebius Praep. Ev. IX.27.24-26, which says the name of Israel's God, when whispered to Pharaoh by Moses was so powerful as to throw the king to the earth.

The emphasis upon the name in exorcism is one of the most constant phenomena in Christian, Jewish and pagan circles. The name in antiquity was a very vital part of the personality. One who possessed the name of another thereby had a certain degree of power over him. Divine names in particular were not to be used carelessly or indiscriminately. It was largely because of the potency of the name of Israel's God that the Hebrews were so reticent about pronouncing it, and for the same reason that its use for magical purposes was strictly forbidden.[124] But the presence of such rigid injunctions against these magical uses is strong evidence that it was frequently so employed, and the evidence of the existing documents provides abundant proof of its prevalence.[125] It is characteristic of the use of powerful names in magical formulae that they must be pronounced with great care. Not only must they be spoken with accuracy but it is necessary that they be given in the proper language to have their greatest efficacy. Origen in his discussion of this theme declares that there are many names which are powerful for conquering certain demons, when used in their respective countries and languages.[126] It is characteristic of the name of Jesus that it seems to possess universal efficacy. It is effective in all lands, where used. It is also used with much simpler attendant formulae than accompany the use of other divine names in extra-Christian exorcism. The simplicity, as well as the remarkable efficacy of the Christian name in exorcism which made so marked an appeal to outsiders from the first continues to make the name of Jesus distinctive for these purposes.[127]

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[124] Ex. 20:7; the significance of the name in exorcism will be considered more fully infra, pp. 390-409.

[125] See especially Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), which gives a wealth of valuable data for Jewish magical practices. Cf. infra, pp.192-209.

[126] Cels. I.24 f.

The technique of ridding society and especially the church, of evil spirits has so developed in this period as to leave nothing to chance. It has become a regularly established and recognized calling. While we hear of the practice as having been performed by various individuals, and Tertullian[128] implies that every man was to some extent his own exorcist, still the regular official cases are performed by the exorcists. These exorcists formed one of the orders of the lower clergy whose duty was that of purifying the Christian group of the influence of Satan's forces. While not limited to any one particular group or situation, the exorcists found their most regular task that of expelling the evil spirits from the candidates for baptism.

Exorcism of demons was a regular and essential step to be taken by the initiate for the baptismal rite, whether child or adult.[129] By this act the soul of the catachumen is purified and his feet placed in the path of salvation.

> Let thy feet hasten to the catechisings; receive with earnestness the exorcisms: whether thou be breathed upon or exorcised, the act is to thee salvation. Suppose thou hast gold unwrought and alloyed, mixed with various substances, copper, and tin, and iron, and lead: we seek to have the gold alone; can gold be purified from the foreign substances without fire? Even so without exorcisms the soul cannot be purified; and these exorcisms are divine, having been collected out of the divine Scriptures....When the exorcists inspire terror by the Spirit of God, and set the soul, as it were, on fire in the crucible of the body, the hostile demon flees away, and there abide salvation and the hope of eternal life, and the soul henceforth is cleansed from its sins and hath salvation.[130]

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[127] Acts 19:11-20; cf. Origen, *op. cit.*, I.6; III.28; *Pseudo Clem. Hom. de Virginitate*, I.12; Arnobius *Adv. Gentes*, II.12.

[128] *De Cor. Mil.* XI; *De Idol.*, Ch. XI; cf. *Pseudo Clem. Hom.* IX.19.

[129] Cf. Augustine *De Symbolo*, p. 2; Charles Guignebert, *Christianity Past and Present* (New York, 1927), pp. 149 f.; *NPNF*, 2d series, Vol. VII, Intro. to Cyril of Jerusalem, pp. xix-xxi.

[130] Cyril of Jerusalem *Procatechesis*, Sec. 9; *NPNF*, 2d series, VII, 3.

The following interesting description of the procedure shows the dramatic character of the act and its realistic significance.

> And the priest breathes upon his mouth, his forehead, and his breast, saying, Drive forth from him every evil and unclean spirit, hidden and lurking in his heart, the spirit of error, the spirit of wickedness....[131]

According to some our sources the actual rite of baptism completed the cleansing of the initiate by banishing the devil and his hosts. Thus Cyprian informs us,

> But if any one is moved by this, that some of those who are baptized in sickness are still tempted by unclean spirits, let him know that the obstinate wickedness of the devil prevails even up to the saving water, but that in baptism it loses all the poison of his wickedness....And this also is done in the present day, in that the devil is scourged, and burned, and tortured by exorcists, by the human voice, and by divine power; and although he often says that he is going out, and will leave the men of God, yet in that which he says he deceives, and puts in practice what was before done by Pharaoh with the same obstinate and fraudulent deceit. When, however, they come to the water of salvation and to the sanctification of baptism, we ought to know and to trust that there the devil is beaten down, and the man, dedicated to God, is set free by the divine mercy. For as scorpions and serpents, which prevail on the dry ground, when cast into water, cannot prevail nor retain their venom; so also the wicked spirits, which are called scorpions and serpents, and yet are trodden under foot by us, by the power given by the Lord, cannot remain any longer in the body of a man in whom, baptized and sanctified, the Holy Spirit is beginning to dwell.[132]

Tertullian presents an even more realistic picture of the sacramental power of the baptismal waters.

> All waters, therefore, in virtue of the pristine privilege of their origin, do, after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately supervenes from the heavens, and rests over the waters, sanctifying them from Himself; and being thus sanctifying....Therefore, after the waters have been in a manner endued with medicinal virtue through the intervention of the angel, the spirit is corporeally washed in the waters, and the flesh

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[131] Greek Euchologion quoted by Kleopas Procat. par. 14; in NPNF, 2d Series, Vol. VII., Intro. to Cyril of Jerusalem, p. XX. and n. 7.

[132] Cyprian Ep. 75, sec. 15; To Magnus. ANCL, VIII. p. 314.

is in the same spiritually cleansed.[133]

The persistence even in present day Catholicism of this thoroughly sacramental interpretation of baptism, and its significance in freeing the candidate from demonic control, are eloquent testimony to their firm rooting in historic Christianity. A recent writer on Catholic doctrine and practice thus describes the purpose and procedure of exorcism in the Roman Church today,

> According to the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, the soul of an unbaptized person is particularly under the dominion of the spirits of darkness. Therefore a solemn adjuration is pronounced, in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity, commanding the devil to depart from the servant of God. Then the sign of the cross is again traced on his forehead, as a shield and protection against any further attacks of Satan.[134]

Later on in the baptismal ceremony a second exorcism is performed, followed soon afterward by a renunciation "of Satan and all his works and pomps,"[135] all of which is interpreted in a very literal manner.

The liberation of the initiate from the power of the evil one is one of the most significant steps in the regeneration of the soul, that takes place in baptism.

> These ancient ceremonies are intended to illustrate the freeing of the human soul from the domination of Satan, the cleansing of it from original sin, and the strengthening of it against the world the flesh and the devil. They denote the receiving of a new and holy character, and the adding to the flock of Christ of a new member, destined to everlasting life in God's heavenly Kingdom.[136]

The function of the exorcist in the ancient church became so well-defined as an integral part of the ecclesiastical system that the exorcistic ceremonies were standardized. In some sections of the church he was ordained as were other orders of the clergy. At the time of ordination he received from the bishop a book of the official forms of exorcism to be used in the performance of his duties. According to the Fourth Council of Carthage the exorcist received with this book of formulae the following injunction: "Receive thou these and commit them to memory, and have thou power to lay hands upon the Energumens, whether they be baptized or only Catachumens."[137]

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[133] Tertullian de Bap., ch. IV; ANCL, XI, 235 f. Cf. Clementine Recognitions II.71; Cyprian Ep. LXIX.15.

[134] J.F. Sullivan, The Externals of the Catholic Church (New York, 1918), p. 45.

[135] J.F. Sullivan, The Fundamentals of Catholic Belief (New York, 1925), p. 178 f.

[136] Ibid., p. 47.

In some portions of the church the exorcist was not ordained but was regarded as holding his office through direct divine endowment. In the Apostolic Constitutions is this interpretation of the office:

> An exorcist is not ordained. For it is a trial of voluntary goodness, and of the grace of God through Christ by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. For he who has received the gift of healing is declared by revelation from God, the grace which is in him being manifest to all.[138]

This is a tacit recognition of the fact that only people of a particular temperament were qualified for the task. Origen throws further light on the type of people engaging in these practices. In his discussion of the simplicity and pious nature of Christian exorcism as contrasted with the magical practices of pagans he says,

> And this, (i.e., exorcism) we may observe, they do without the use of any curious arts of magic, or incantations, but merely by prayer and simple adjurations which the plainest person can use. Because for the most part it is unlettered persons who perform this work; thus making manifest the grace which is in the word of Christ, and the despicable weakness of demons, which, in order to be overcome and driven out of the bodies and souls of men, do not require the power and wisdom of those who are mighty in argument, and most learned in matters of faith.[139]

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[137] Can 7, Fourth Council of Carthage (398 A.D.; in NPNF, 2d Series, Vol. VII; Intro. to Cyril, p. XX).

[138] Apost. Const. VIII.26; in ANF, VII.493b.

[139] Origen Cels. VII.4; ANCL, XXIII. p. 428.

This indicates clearly that it was the divine power working through the human agent which was really responsible for expelling the demons. Hence the less distinguished the exorcist the greater the glory due to the power of Christ for these wonderful deeds.

The writings of the Church Fathers of this period give us some interesting sidelights on exorcism in their references to its practice in heretical sects. These all show a high regard for it as a distinctly Christian procedure. Apparently there was variation among the unorthodox groups in the ability to perform exorcisms, some practicing it freely while others were unable to do so. According to Hippolytus the Elchasaites performed exorcisms and other healings through the use of various incantations.[140] The implication is a denunciation of the means employed though he is forced to admit the fact of the healings. Tertullian bitterly assails the women of certain heretical sects who are so bold and wanton as "to teach, to dispute, to enact exorcisms, to undertake cures - it may be even to baptize."[141] Here again the greatness of the performance is recognized, the women being denounced for their presumption in undertaking tasks of such importance in the church. Irenaeus speaks of the power of exorcism as a test of orthodoxy, declaring that the followers of Simon and Carpocrates failed to qualify.[142] They are said to claim great powers along this line, which in reality are "magical illusions and universal deceit" for they are helpless when brought face to face with the real test. The superiority of the Christian exorcists over all others is a point repeatedly stressed from the time of Justin onward. It forms a vigorous apologetic for the members of the Christian movement in their efforts to furnish satisfaction for a variety of human ills in the experience of the individual and the social order as a whole.

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[140] Ref. of all Heresies, IX.9.
[141] On Prescription against Heretics; in ANCL, XV.50.
[142] Irenaeus II.31.2.

Our survey of the phenomena of exorcism has revealed its presence in the church over a widespread area and throughout a period of four centuries, from the time of the Apostles until Augustine. An extension of this survey would disclose a continuance of the practice in the Catholic Church throughout the medieval and modern periods down into our own time. But for our purposes it would be superfluous to trace it further. We have noticed its prevalence from the beginning of the Christian movement until it became so important in the cult life as to demand a special official to perform this particular ministry for the church. The presence of one or more official exorcists in each local congregation of any considerable size bears striking testimony to the importance of this task throughout the Christian world.

PART II

JUDAISM

CHAPTER IV

THE FUNCTIONS OF DEMONS AND EXORCISM IN PRE-EXILIC HEBREW LIFE

A. Introduction: The Hebrews' Cultural Heritage

The performance of rites for ridding society or individuals of the malign influence of evil powers is much older than Christianity. Among the Hebrews, as well as other races, such practices had been familiar in varying forms for centuries. Like many of the chief social institutions and practices of Hebrew life, exorcism was shared with other Semitic groups as a part of their common racial heritage and environment. Among some of the earliest records of Assyrian-Babylonian culture we find ample evidence of riddance rites to drive away the malevolent forces that menaced human life.[1] They had developed an elaborate system with many standard formulae and other methods of procedure for freeing men from demonic attacks. Because Hebrew life was much simpler there had not developed among them techniques of control or theoretical systems of interpretation of evil forces at all comparable to those among their more advanced kinsmen. Their contacts with these powers were direct and immediate in daily experience. Hence, they were concerned with meeting the practical issues raised, with little attention to theoretical explanations.

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[1] See e. g., R. Campbell Thompson, The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 2 vols. (London, 1903, 1904); also his Semitic Magic: Its Origins and Development (London, 1908); R. W. Rogers, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in its Relations to Israel (New York, 1908), pp. 144-159; Morris Jastrow Jr., The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria (Boston, 1898).

The religion of the Hebrews can be understood only when we study it in terms of the common Semitic culture of which they were a part. In no sense were the people of Israel living an isolated life. In fact they were living in constant touch with the great currents of ancient civilization in western Asia, and their whole development shows how profoundly they were an integral part of this common life of the age.

> . . . we are more sure today than ever before that Israel's life was closely interwoven with that of the surrounding peoples and that they borrowed freely from the neighboring civilizations. Not only Babylon and Egypt, but also the Hittites contributed much to the content of Hebrew thought and life. The scholars of tomorrow will find more Babylonian, and still more Egyptian goods in the Hebrew market than we have as yet thought of . . . The Hebrews formed part of a great family of nations constituting the Semitic group. They shared common institutions, instincts, and ideas. They carried on with one another a constant exchange of goods, both material and ethereal. There was a never ceasing process of give-and-take going on among them. There was no tariff wall to keep out ideas and customs. The languages of the Semitic group were very much alike, so that intercommunication was not seriously hampered by difficulties of speech. Phoenicians, Aramaeans, Moabites, Ammonites, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Hebrews were all in the same school of life together, influenced largely by similar geographical, geological and climatic conditions and learning much from one another. The Hebrews were not dull pupils in this school. They had open eyes and quick ears for all that was going on. They absorbed much from their neighbors' experience and brought it forth again after passing it through the mill of their own minds and hearts greatly refined and purified.[2]

In interpreting the religion of the rank and file of the Hebrew people we must constantly avoid the fallacy of identifying it with the religious ideals and attitudes enunciated by the prophetic leaders in historical and prophetic writings. Even a cursory reading of these records reveals the great gap existing between the popular rites, customs and ideas in religion and the religion of the great champions of ethical idealism, Amos, Isaiah,

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[2] J. M. P. Smith, Religious Thought in the Last Quarter Century, ed. G. B. Smith (Chicago, 1927), pp. 15f, 20.

Jeremiah and others of similar stamp. The attitudes of these men represent a continual protest against existing religious practices and attitudes of their fellow-countrymen as altogether unworthy of the cult of Yahweh. The religion of the masses was essentially one of conformity to the well-established cult practices of their neighbors. It was primarily concerned with the performance of the rites necessary to insure them the greatest prosperity in flocks and herds, the most abundant crops of corn, wine, oil and fruits and the certainty of numerous offspring, with health, happiness and protection from the mysterious, often hostile, forces of their environing world. It was a very utilitarian kind of religion, dealing with the tangible experiences of everyday life in nomadic and agricultural circles. And naturally they thought such blessings could be secured through the common established cult practices of the times. Over against this popular attitude of conformity to existing practices, of assimilation of the common cult rites of Canaanites, Aramaeans, Hittites, Egyptians, et. al., we see the rigorous, exclusive attitude of the prophets with their continued stress on the separate and distinctive character of Yahweh and his demands upon them. Our attention in this study will be directed to the popular practices and attitudes.

The sources for a study of these attitudes and practices related to exorcism are very fragmentary. Because our literary records come almost exclusively from prophetic writers [3] it is difficult to get an accurate picture of popular customs. What we get is in the form of incidental references here and there or in practices which are made the object of the prophetic denunciation. These accounts are supplemented by archaeological finds which are often extremely valuable in a qualitative sense but are usually inadequate for showing the extent to which ideas or practices were prevalent. Information about similar ceremonies among other ancient peoples is often very illuminating in explaining obscure customs but it must be used with the greatest care. A fourth source of data is to be found in current practices in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt today where in many ways customs and attitudes seem to have changed but little for millenniums. Here again discrimination must be used in interpreting practices. The outward form of a custom may have undergone changes so significant as to obscure its original meaning. By using the materials supplied by these various sources we can reach only an approximation of the situation in early Israel. But although there are many gaps the evidence is sufficiently adequate to show that demonic forces exerted a powerful influence in Hebrew life.

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[3] The word here is used in its general sense, to include the historical books and the earlier codes of laws. The priestly writers of course are for the most part post-exilic.

In dealing with these evil spirits in the early period we are at once struck by the lack of any complete description or attempt at classification. They are pictured but dimly, their origin and nature are often obscure: all we can see is the sinister power they exert and the methods employed to avert their influences. We shall interpret them in terms of their relations to vital experiences of Hebrew life rather than in catagories of analysis imposed upon them by our own intellectual interest. The following life-interests will be used: (1) the geographical and climatic conditions, (2) occupations and economic life, (3) social organization, including family, clan and tribal interests, (4) disease and death.[4]

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[4] Cf. Montgomery's suggestive classification of Semitic demons in his valuable study, Aramaic Incantation Texts from

B. Demonic Forces in Relation to Geographical and Climatic Conditions

I. Atmosphere of Supernaturalism

During the time from which practically all our pre-exilic Old Testament sources come, the Hebrew people were living in Palestine. But their heritage included many traditions, customs and practices of desert life from a remote antiquity. The nomadic experiences of many centuries did much to stamp them with the characteristics common to Semitic races. Barton's summary of the desert environment pictures clearly these grim forces that have been so powerful in shaping the attitudes of Semitic groups.

> The peculiar conditions of life which the Arabian deserts and oases have presented for millenniums are the matrix in which Semitic character, as it is knwon to us, was born. It is a land of barren and volcanic mountains, of broad stretches of dry, waste, and unproductive soil, and wide areas of shifting sand, interrupted by an occasional oasis,-a land where, for the most part, water is difficult to obtain, where famine is always imminent, where hunger, thirst, heat, and exposure are the constant experience of the inhabitants. The Bedawi are always underfed, they suffer constantly from hunger and thirst, and their bodies thus weakened fall an easy prey to disease; they range the silent desert, almost devoid of life, where the sun is all powerful by day and the stars exceedingly brilliant by night.[5]

In this atmosphere the sense of the presence of supernatural forces everywhere was an inevitable experience.

> In his reaction to the world about him, the nomad is concrete and immediate; he has little power of abstraction or reflection. His imagination is stimulated by the great vacancies of earth, and he animates the void with multiple and ominous life. Mysterious voices which resound in solitudes and empty places, though but the rustling of the sands or the hiss of winds,

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Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 69-94, based on nature rather than functions. See also the classification of Hebrew demons into Theriomorphic and Anthropomorphic, with subdivisions of each, in Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, Its Origin and Development (New York, 1930), Ch. VI; Oesterley, Immortality and the Unseen World (New York, 1921), pp. 24-34.

[5] G. A. Barton, A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious (New York, 1902), p. 28.

> betray the movement of supernatural malevolent beings. Wild creatures of the desert, hostile to men, all creeping things and hairy monsters and obscene birds, are "jinn" or demons, to be terribly feared and, if possible, eluded, Everywhere danger lurks, vague, unintelligible, ready to strike. There, just beyond, terror impends. . . . The loneliness of the desert sharpens the nomad's perception of the pregnant emptiness around him. In his isolation from human contacts, he is made aware of the great drama of natural forces which may threaten or befriend.[6]

In Palestine there were great contrasts in geographical and climatic conditions. Within a comparatively few miles one finds an amazing diversity of features, ranging from the fertile valleys of Samaria, Esdraelon and Galilee through the hills of Judea to the barren wastes of the wilderness and the trans-Jordanic regions; from the great depressions around the Dead Sea well over a thousand feet below sea level, with its burning tropical sun, to the heights of Mt. Hermon with its glistening blanket of perpetual snow, yet within eyesight of each other. Streams of water were comparatively few and many of them dried up during the dry season when most needed. The unequal and variable rainfall added to this uncertainty of water supply often brought about great want and suffering. The great climatic variations with the consequent sudden changes in temperature produced many violent storms, while earthquakes were fairly frequent. The irregularity and precarious character of the natural resources essential to a safe and prosperous existence put their indelible stamp on the character of the inhabitants of the region, many features of which have persisted to the present day.

> In the Palestine year there is no inevitableness. Fertility does not spring from a source which is within control of man's spade, and by which he can defy a brazen and illiberal heaven. It comes down from heaven, and if heaven sometimes withholds it, there is nothing else within man's reach to substitute for it. The climate of Palestine is regular enough to provoke men to methodical labour for its fruits, but the regularity

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[6] C. Noyes, The Genius of Israel (Boston, 1924), pp. 15f.

> is often interrupted. The early rains or the latter rains fail, drought comes occasionally for two years in succession, and that means famine and pestilence. There are, too, the visitations of the locust, which are said to be bad every fifth or sixth year; and there are earthquakes, also periodical in Syria. Thus a purely mechanical conception of nature as something certain and inevitable, whose processes are more or less under man's control, is impossible; and the imagination is roused to feel the presence of a will behind nature, in face of whose interruptions of the fruitfulness or stability of the land man is absolutely helpless.[7]

II. Heavenly Bodies

The sun, moon, stars and other heavenly bodies were a vital part of this environment. Among people of a pre-scientific age, living so close to the forces of nature, these astral bodies were not dead worlds hundreds of light years away; they were intimate, ever-present factors in daily experience. Who could live daily under the burning rays of a tropical sun, beating down mercilessly upon man, beast and vegetation and disregard its power in molding daily attitudes and practices? Or who could enjoy the brilliant moon and stars of a glorious Oriental night and regard them as other than social objects with an intimate pervasive influence on human society?

Thus every factor of their environing world made its profound impress upon the Hebrews' attitudes and ways of living. They must adapt themselves to this environment so as to insure the most favorable response from it. They must so adjust their relations toward it as to increase those experiences that brought about the welfare of the group and avoid experiences that were harmful. Since possibilities of danger were lurking everywhere in so precarious an environment there must be built up methods of averting ills. It is very difficult to say just how far the rites within primitive groups usually designated as "worship" were carried out to insure continuance of positive blessings from well-disposed deities, and to what extent they were for the purpose of keeping away harmful powers. Since they are so closely related it is probable that in most cases no attempt was made to distinguish clearly. People were interested in attaining the most satisfactory life possible in the midst of specific conditions, and probably spent little time rationalizing their procedure. They realized through practical experience that at some times a particular aspect of their environment brought good things, at others it was the bearer of ill. And their concern was with increasing the good and decreasing the evil coming from every element of their lives. Whether it was a god that brought the blessing of life-giving sunshine essential to their crops in the normal growing season and a demon that sent the blistering heat rays to wither vegetation and bring human suffering in a season of drought was a theoretical matter of little interest to them. What was significant was a proper adjustment to these experiences. We know that the prophets regarded Yahweh as the source of both good and evil,[8] and undoubtedly the masses sometimes thought the same about the mysterious powers operating through the objects of daily experience. But whether the ills to be averted came from "gods" or "demons" in the ordinary use of the terms or whether the nature of the evil forces was vague and undefined was of secondary importance. Likewise our main interest is in understanding the activities of these harmful factors of their environment and in seeing how they protected themselves against them.

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[7] G. A. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land (2nd ed., London, 1894), p. 73.

We are using the term exorcism in this connection in a broad and inclusive sense. It is not limited to the technical usage in which a demon is expelled from a possessed individual by the use of certain formulae, etc. Rather it is made to include two types of practice: (1) apotropaic rites, or those methods by which the various harmful forces were averted from the individual and the group; and (2) exorcistic rites, or the practices by which demonic forces that had already brought injury to an individual or the group were driven away.

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[8] Amos 3:6-8; 4:6-11; 5:18-20; Isa. 9:11-21; Jer. 44:28ff, and many others throughout the prophetic writings.

We find frequent references in the Old Testament to planetary and astral spirits.[9] The authors present these cosmic powers as hostile to Yahweh and hence to his people. These passages while representing the prophetic interpretations undoubtedly give us indirect evidence of popular attitudes. The prophets are denouncing the worship of the heavenly bodies by their countrymen. From this it is quite clear that the popular mind found in the astral bodies some powers or potencies with which they must come to terms. They were not mere inert matter but in a definite sense were endowed with the power of bringing good or evil upon men. The remonstrance of the Jews in Egypt with Jeremiah for his rebuke of their rites to astral powers [10] shows how deeply rooted and vital these practices were. They maintain that so long as they had performed these rites faithfully they had enjoyed prosperity, but when they were neglected swift and dreadful calamity came upon them. Such spirits were too powerful for men to offend with impunity. For generations their fathers had followed the practices essential to securing protection from them, and their own disaster proved the need of continuing them.

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[9] Deut. 4:19; 17:2f; Job 9:13; 26:12; 41:1; Ps. 74:13-17; 89:11f; Isa. 14:12ff; 24:21-23; 27:1; Jer. 8:2; 44:15-30; Amos 5:26, cf HDB, I., 193a.

[10] Jer. 44:15-30.

Phenomena such as eclipses [11] and the passage of the moon through its various phases were all occurrences fraught with the greatest possible danger. The building of the system of feasts around the solar and lunar movements indicates the need of special ceremonies at these critical times to guarantee safety and happiness.[12] But even in their normal activities the sun and moon had terrors that must be averted.[13] One of the prophets, looking toward the glorious future day when Yahweh shall reign supreme on Mount Zion, sees in the conquest of the heavenly powers a prerequisite of the triumph of righteousness.

> On that day will the Lord punish
> The host of the heights on high,
> And the kings of the earth on the earth;
> They will be gathered together like prisoners in a dungeon,
> And will be imprisoned in a prison,
> Until after many days they are punished.
> Then will the moon turn pale with confusion
> And the sun will hide his face in shame;
> For the Lord of hosts will be king on Mount Zion,
> And will reveal his glory before his elders in Jerusalem.[14]

III. Storms, Winds and Other Natural Phenomena

The violent storms with lightning, thunder, wind and a downpour of rain or hail were regarded as awesome phenomena to be guarded against with the greatest caution. Through these means

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[11] Amos 8:9; Joel 2:31; Zech. 14:6; Ezek. 32:7; cf. the Assyrian beliefs about the seven evil spirits that attacked the moon at an eclipse, and similar ideas both within and outside the Semitic world, in Thompson, Semitic Magic, pp. 52-56.

[12] See E. G. Kraeling, "The Real Religion of Ancient Israel," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLVII (1928), 133-59; Jastrow, Rel. Bab. Assyr.; Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions (New York, 1914), pp. 145-49.

[13] Ps. 91:6; 121:6. For beneficent activities of the stars see e.g., Judg. 5:3-5.

[14] Isa. 24:21-23 (Am. tr.). Cf. the thought of Yahweh's conquest of Leviathan and Rahab at creation, Ps. 74:13-17; Job 9:13; 26:12; 41:1; Isa. 27:1; 51:9f. For the Babylonian creation myth of Marduk and the monster Tiamat see L. W. King, Seven Tablets of Creation (London, 1902), Tablet IV; R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament (New York, 1912), pp. 24-32; Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, pp. 72-80.

Yahweh sometimes revealed himself but such occurrences were filled with menace for the populace.[15] The horrors often produced among primitive men by these terrific natural phenomena find expression in an Assyrian text descriptive of the seven evil spirits.

> Destructive storms and evil winds are they,
> An evil blast that heraldeth the baneful storm,
> An evil blast, forerunner of the baneful storm,
> They are mighty children, mighty sons,
> Heralds of the Pestilence.
> Thronebearers of Ereskigal,
> They are the flood which rusheth through the land,
> Seven gods of the broad earth,
> Seven robber-gods [?] are they,
> Seven gods of might,
> Seven evil gods,
> Seven evil demons,
> Seven evil demons of oppression,
> Seven in heaven and seven on earth.[16]

While these evil influences are not so definitely personalized in Hebrew circles in the early period the apprehension with which they looked upon such occurrences was the same as among their neighbors.

Very similar is the consternation that seizes men in the midst of a blighting, scorching wind of the desert, burning up vegetation, and bringing famine and pestilence in its wake as it sweeps through the land. Man feels helpless before its ravages and seeks some form of protection against so elusive a foe. The dread of such a peril is clearly reflected by the Psalmist. In an enumeration of the chief blessings enjoyed by Yahweh's faithful servants he repeatedly stresses security from the malicious pestilence demon as one of the greatest boons.

> For he will deliver thee . . . from the deadly pestilence.
> Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
> Nor for the arrow that flieth by day;
> For the pestilence that walketh in darkness,

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[15] Exod. 19:16ff; Num. 16:1f, 12-14, 28-34.
[16] Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 48.

> Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.
> A thousand shall fall at thy side,
> And ten thousand at thy right hand;
> But it shall not come nigh thee.
> . . . .
> There shall no evil befall thee,
> Neither shall any plague come nigh thy tent.[17]

A description of the plague-demon in a Babylonian source shows how realistic were the terrors it produced.

> The plague-demon burns up the land like fire. The plague-demon like the fever (asakku) attacks the man. The plague-demon in the desert like a cloud of dust makes his way. The plague-demon like a foe takes captive the man. The plague-demon like a flame consumes the man. The plague-demon, though he hath neither hands nor feet, ever goes round and round. The plague-demon like destruction cuts down the sick man.[18]

IV. Wild Animals

Wild animals were often hostile forces that menaced the Hebrews. Lions, leopards, bears, wolves and serpents are mentioned frequently in prophetic writings, always as perils and sometimes as figures of the destruction to come upon a disobedient nation.[19] The manner of these references reveals familiarity with these dangerous animals by the people as a whole. The incident of the Assyrian colonists settled in the northern regions after the fall of Samaria, who required expert religious leadership to develop the proper technic of keeping away the lions, is clear evidence of the methods of averting their menace.[20] The serpent because of his deadly poison and his wily, treacherous nature was most closely identified with evil spirits by both Semitic and other peoples in antiquity. The story of its crafty seduction of

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[17] Ps. 91:3, 5-7, 10. For Nergal as demon of pestilence see Jastrow, Rel. Bab. Assyr., p.67; Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Bab., Tablet V, vol. I, p. 63, col.III, lines 1-10.

[18] Quoted in A. H. Sayee, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, Hibbert Lectures (New York, 1887), p. 477.

[19] Amos 5:18f.; Hos. 5:14; 13:7f.; cf. Ps. 91:13; Isa. 11:6-8 where these dangerous beasts are depicted as no longer to be harmful after Yahweh gains complete control of life in the Messianic age.

[20] II Kings 17:14-28.

Eve in the garden of Eden clearly reflects a long current attitude toward this animal as demonic.[21] That the Hebrews so regarded it and practiced methods of averting its sinister influence is further attested by the story of Moses' brazen serpent in the wilderness,[22] and by the "worship" carried on at its shrine down to a late period.[23] The charming of snakes apparently was a familiar means of gaining control over these demons in Israelitish life.[24] The depiction of the cosmic monster of evil, overcome by a good deity during the process of creation, in the form of a serpent or dragon, is additional evidence of the fear inspired by these dangerous reptiles throughout the Semitic world.[25]

The facts above noted in the relation of the physical environment of the Hebrews to their attitudes on demonic influences is typical of many more experiences. Their ideas and practices came as the natural result of their attempt to work out a satisfying life in the midst of many perplexing and often hostile factors in their environment.

C. Demonic Powers in Relation to Occupations and Economic Life

Men's economic and occupational interests have a direct bearing on their attitudes and ways of living in their whole relationship to environmental forces, particularly in primitive society. The outlook toward the dimly understood forces of life of an individual or a social group that is able to eke out a mere existence through arduous toil is sure to be fundamentally different from that of a man or a group amply supplied with all the material needs of life. A tribe living in the desert where the conditions of life are rigorous, the necessities of physical existence meagerly supplied and the forces of nature hostile to so large an extent, inevitably develops social attitudes correspondingly grim and even pessimistic.[26] Such was the social heritage of the Hebrews in their early desert life, and some of these harsh environmental factors persisted to a marked degree after the settlement in Palestine, especially among the groups that remained nomadic.

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[21] Gen. 3:1-15; cf. W. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites, ed. Cook (3rd ed., New York, 1927), pp. 442f.

[22] Num. 21:6-9.

[23] II Kings 18:4; cf. Job 26:12f.; Rev. 12:9.

[24] Exod. 4:3,7,9,15; Ps. 58:4f.; Jer. 8:17.

[25] See n. 14, p. 87 for sources.

I. Food Supply

The sons of the desert are chiefly dependent for food supply upon their flocks and herds, water from the widely separated oases, and the fruit of the highly prized date palm. Of course there was the chance at times to supplement these by raids upon caravans or settled communities, or by an exchange of some of their products for those of the latter groups. But supplies from these sources were uncertain and inadequate particularly since a bitter hostility seems to have been common between nomads and settled tribes.[27] In this environment it was essential to guard with the greatest care the water supply, the fruit trees and the animals. They must have means of keeping off all possible evils from these indispensable assets of their existence. It is easy to understand the attitude of reverence, often amounting to worship, of Semitic groups toward wells and springs of water, trees and animals. This veneration is the inevitable expression of man's dependence upon them for life itself.

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[26] A classic example is to be seen in the fatalism that has so powerful a grip on Moslem groups, after millenniums of life in the great Arabian desert.

[27] For the persistence of the enmity today see C.M.Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta, (2 vols., London, 1888), I, 137 ff. P. J. Baldensperger, "Women in the East," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly (1899), pp. 133f.

II. Water Supply

The religious significance of wells or springs among the Hebrews is attested by many Old Testament passages. Beersheba, Dan, Elim, En-rogel and Gihon are a few examples of sacred waters,[28] while many other sacred spots referred to in the patriarchal wanderings as well as in later times must have owed their significance largely to the presence of life-giving water.[29] Robertson Smith in discussing typical legends and rituals that have grown up around these spots points out the characteristic features of all, viz., "the sacred waters are instinct with divine life and energy."[30] Curtiss gives a number of interesting examples of similar beliefs and customs in Bible lands today.[31] The well or stream in modern Syria is under supervision of a *weli*, or saint that must be kept in favorable mood to insure continuance of the water supply. Since springs and streams in Palestine and the desert regions often dry up during a portion of the year, man must do everything in his power to prevent such a calamity.

An interesting custom carried out to insure the flow of water is seen in Numbers 21:17-18. Gathering around the well the people sang this song:

> Spring up, O well! Sing to it;
> The well which the princes dug,
> Which the nobles of the people sunk,
> With the scepters, with their staffs.

As the leaders of the tribe with scepters and staffs in hand, imitated the act of digging the well the people chanted in unison the ancient folk song, probably accompanying their singing with rhythmic motions representing the water bursting out. By this process of sympathetic magic the water was made to gush forth to quench the thirst of the multitude.[32] It may also have been used to restore the water in a dry season or when for any reason the wells were not producing an adequate supply.[33]

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[28] See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 92; W.R. Smith, *RS*, (3rd ed.), pp. 166-178. The latter gives many examples of sacred waters among ancient peoples.

[29] E.g., Mamre, Gen. 13:18; Baal-Tamar, Judg. 20:33; and other places with sacred trees. Cf. W.R. Smith, *loc. cit.*, on location of shrines near springs or well.

[30] *Ibid.* p. 173.

[31] S. J. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, (Chicago, 1902), pp. 82 f., 116f., 198-200, *et al* .

Probably the procedure here related is only a part of the ritual actually carried out. This would apply particularly if the rite was performed when the well was first dug. If it was the ceremony used at the inauguration of so important an enterprise it may well have been accompanied by a sacrifice as a further guarantee of its efficacy. Naturally, however, the prophetic writer in his account would delete a custom that would so easily betray its non-Yahwistic origin. The offering of a victim, either animal or human, to insure the auspicious outcome of new undertakings, has been practiced for centuries by both Semitic and non-Semitic races.[34] Doughty records the present-day custom among the Arabs of sprinkling the blood of a sacrifice to avert the malicious influence of the jinn at the opening of a new well and similar new undertakings of importance.[35] Probably this rite among the Hebrews had a significance similar to that smong their Semitic kinsmen.

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[32] Whether the ceremony (originally) was performed in the name of Yahweh as the deity in control of the spring, or whether some local water spirit was invoked, is of minor importance. Probably it was first carried out to the local spirit of the place and later taken over by the leaders of the Yahweh cult who were eager to bring everything under his jurisdiction. The passage in its present setting has caused much trouble to the commentators (G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* [New York, 1903], pp. 287-90) in the attempt to locate the incident geographically. The whole nature of the incident, if the above interpretation is correct, suggests the passage as an interpolation, an attempt to show that historically it had been used in recognition of Yahweh who was the real source of the blessing conferred.

[33] For similar practices among the Arabs see Nilus, in J. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca* (Paris, 1857-65), Gr. tom. LXXIX, cab. 648; Kazwini I, 189; cited in Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 289; W. R. Smith, *RS*, pp. 183, 559. Curtiss cites a case in which a sacrifice of several sheep was offered before the water supply at Nebk would be restored, *op. cit.*, pp. 199f. The question might be raised as to whether the incident of Moses' striking the rock for water (Num. 20: 7-13) is not based on the same conception. Possibly there was even an earlier tradition of the incident which showed Moses using the same form of sympathetic magic to produce

III. Trees

Palm trees provide the nomads of the desert with materials for a variety of useful articles in addition to their fruit. Because of their unusual values under desert conditions they have been called "the bread of the land, the staff of life, and the staple of commerce."[36] Among the Hebrews and their contemporaries they were regarded as of significant religious value, often being venerated as shrines.[37] In Palestine the terebinth also occupied a place of honor for a long period.[38] Just what ritual was performed to insure the productivity of trees is not clearly stated. But there probably were such rites, to insure fertility and ward off any dangers. There is an interesting law in Leviticus 19:23-25 which stipulates that the fruit of their trees shall be "uncircumcised" (i.e., taboo) for the first three years, that the produce of the fourth year shall be "holy" to Yahweh, and that thereafter they may eat it. This seems clearly to suggest primitive customs that recognize the first fruit produced by an orchard

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water, but which has been overlaid by the later narrator with the specifically miraculous features of the present account in which the deity gives the stream of water.

[34] See H. C. Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant (2nd ed., New York, 1906), pp. 45-57; Curtiss, op. cit., p. 199f.; W. R. Smith, RS, p. 159, n. 1. Cf. I Kings 16:34.

[35] Doughty, op. cit., I, p. 136; II, pp. 100, 198.

[36] Palgrave, quoted in Barton, op. cit., p. 77.

[37] See e.g., Ex. 15:27; Judges 1:16; 3:13; 4:5; 20:33; Dt. 34:3; cf. Barton, op. cit., pp. 77-90. Though Barton goes to extremes in his theories of this theme his discussion is suggestive.

[38] Gen. 13:18; 14:13; 18:1; Judges 6:11; Hos. 4:13.

as belonging to the mysterious forces of fertility. Probably there were originally rites performed in honor of these powers (the Baalim), which the promulgators of this code wished to eliminate. But they recognized that there was still need for caution. Robertson Smith's suggestion that the prupose was to ward off dangers inherent in the beginnings of new enterprises such as breaking ground, building houses, etc., seems quite plausible.[39] The powers in control of the soil demanded their toll before men could reap any of the rewards of their labor. Probably these offerings were demanded chiefly as a compensation to the spirits of the soil who had been disturbed when their domain was invaded by human beings.

IV. Soil

Even at the present time in Arabia the practice of propitiating the spirits of the ground by the blood of a sacrificial victim is quite common in the breaking of new land, building of new homes, etc.

> The fatness of the Hejr loam is well known in the country; many have sown here, and while, the Arabs told me, they fared well, but always in the reaping-time there has died some one of them. A hidden mischief they think to be in all this soil once subverted by divine judgments, that it may never be tilled again or inhabited. Malignity of the soil is otherwise ascribed by the people of Arabia, to the ground demons, jan, ahl el-ard or earth-folk. Therefore husbandmen in these parts use to sprinkle new break land with the blood of a peace-offering: the like, when they build, they sprinkle upon the stones, lest by any evil accident the workmen's lives should be endangered.[40]

V. Domestic Animals

The significant part played by domestic animals in the life of nomadic groups applies to the Hebrews as well as their neighbors. During their nomadic life their chief animals were sheep and goats though we find some reference to camels. Cattle were unknown in the Arabian peninsula but common in the Mesopotamian region and Egypt as well as in Canaan. Horses, asses, swine and fowls were also raised in Palestine. The flocks and herds are the chief source of wealth of the herdsmen, providing food, clothing and a great variety of needed products. The further uses of animals as sacrificial victims are well known. But the extent to which animals were the symbol or object of worship is often overlooked. This applies particularly to the bull, among both the Hebrews and their contemporaries.

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[39] RS, p. 159, n. 1; cf. p. 133 where an incident is cited in which two Arabs, who set fire to a tangled thicket as a preliminary to cultivating the land, were attacked by demons in the shape of white serpents and died soon afterwards.

[40] C. M. Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I, p. 136. See also infra, pp. 223-28.

Bull worship among the Hebrews goes back to an early period. Tradition connects it with their experiences at Mt. Sinai, in terms that indicate it was already a practice deeply rooted in popular favor.[41] In fact it is here presented as a form of Yahweh worship. Repeated references in the Old Testament reveal the close association of Yahweh with the bull. Solomon's temple, dedicated to Yahweh, had many images of the sacred animal, either representing the national deity directly, or of indirect significance in connection with his worship.[42] When Jeroboam led the northern tribes in their revolt against Rehoboam, he set up golden images of the bull in Bethel and Dan as shrines to Yahweh.[43] This bull-worship apparently occupied a position of greater prominence in the north than it had in the southern kingdom, as might be expected in an agricultural region. The tenacity of this cult is evidenced by many prophetic and historical references,[44] and its orthodoxy is attested by the fact that apparently no one until Hosea called in question its validity.

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[41] Exod. 32. Pedersen suggests that this bull-cult arose after the settlement in Canaan but that the author puts it back into the time of Moses for the purpose of getting the great lawgiver's condemnation of a practice which was current in his own (the author's) day. Israel, Its Life and Culture, Eng. trans., (London, 1926), p. 18 f.

[42] I Kings 7:25-29

[43] I Kings 12:26-33; R.A.S.Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine, (New York, 1926), pp. 280-86, shows why Jeroboam is to be interpreted as a loyal devotee of Yahweh, rather than a leader of a rival cult.

The origin and the earliest significance of the bull-cult among the Hebrews are difficult to determine. They had contact with it in various forms among the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hittites, and the Canaanites.[45] In Egypt the living bull, Apis or Mnevis, insured fertility of field and of human offspring. In Babylonia images of the bull were stationed at the entrances of homes and certain public buildings to ward off malevolent spirits. The Hittite storm-god Hadad-Rimmon was often represented as a bull, while among the Canaanites the bull was the fertility deity that guaranteed flocks, herds and crops. Among the Hebrews the cult rites of Yahweh as a bull were carried out chiefly to secure his favor as a fertility deity. They looked to him to counteract all harmful influences that prevented the growth of crops and the reproduction of domestic animals, and to insure fruitfulness and productivity in plant and animal life. Being closely associated with the Canaanites and as their pupils in the pursuit of agriculture the Hebrews found in these cult practices much of the significance which they held for their neighbors. As safeguards against the forces hostile to agricultural prosperity they would have definite apotropaic significance.[46]

In a nomadic order where the domestic animals were the chief factor in the economic order and the main source of the food supply there must be special forms of protection for them. To lose them through drought, famine, or epidemic would mean great suffering and possibly death to many people of the tribe. After coming into the more settled regions of Palestine they would also be in peril of wild animals. It is significant to note that one of the few types of malicious powers definately classified in the Old Testament are animal-like spirits known as "satyrs" or "the hairy ones" and yet they are left obscured behind vague references and a meagerness of detail. About all that we know is that they were mysterious, sinister, theriomorphic demons, long known and feared among the people, because of their power of bringing disaster. They are pictured as living in the desert places and dreary ruins, and as presaging evil - the synonym of desolation and destruction.[47] A Babylonian exorcism ritual has an interesting parallel to this conception of waste regions as the dwelling place of demons, an idea widely current among ancient peoples.[48]

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[44] Amos 3:14; 4:4; 5:5 f.; 7:10; II Kings 10:29 f.; 17:16; 21:11 f., 21.

[45] See A.H.Sayce, "Bull (Semitic)", Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 12 vols. and index, (New York, 1913-27), II, 887-889 and references there cited.

[46] It is possible that the Babylonian idea of the bull as a power to ward off evil spitits came over directly into Hebrew thought, thus giving these cult rites double significance as protection against demonic forces.

> O, evil spirit, get thee forth to distant places,
> O, evil demon, hie thee unto the ruins,
> A ruined, desolate house is the home.[49]

In the Old Testament they are associated in these dreary wastes with jackals, ostriches and other animals that shun the abodes of men.[50]

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[47] Isa. 13:21; 34:14; Cf. Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 92.

[48] See Tablet of Series "N" Col. VII. (Plate VIII); in Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, II,27; cf. I,152, 167, 191 ff.; Matt. 12:43; R.Reitzenstein, Poimandres, (Leipzig, 1904), p, 294 shows a similar idea in the magical papyri. For its prevalence in Arabian circles see J.Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, (Berlin, 1897), pp. 135-40; Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I, 365, 548; II, 3, 189 f. For Koran references see C.C.McCown, The Testament of Solomon, (Leipzig, 1922), p. 79.

[49] Utukki Limnuti Ritual, Tablet "B", lines 94-97, in Thompson, op. cit., I, 139; cf. II, 27.

[50] Isa. 13:21; 34:14; cf. Ps. 91:5 f.,13; Job 5:23; Hos. 2:18; II Kings 17:26; see W.R.Smith, RS , pp. 119-21, 129 f., 442; W.R.Smith, Kinship and Marriage In Early Arabia, (London, 1903), pp. 229 f., 234; Wellhausen, op. cit., pp. 152-55 for ostriches and snakes as demoniacal and identified with the jinn.

We know that down to a late period in Hebrew history the people performed rites to ward off the hostile influence of these spirits. The severe denunciation of these practices by the authors of the Holiness Code is evidence of their hold on the populace even in post-exilic times.[51] Like other ancient rites condemned by the prophetic and priestly leaders they represent popular attitudes in religion that have prevailed for centuries. Developed in the desert life with its peculiar forms of danger for man and beast, they continue as apotropaic rites long after Israel has developed her agricultural civilization. In fact the danger in Canaan was even greater than in the desert because of the presence of evil beasts in greater numbers.[52] The common people felt a need for these practices as a guarantee of security against the evil forces of the desolate regions.

What were the specific functions of these malicious demons? Our sources do not enable us to answer with certainty. Probably they were of a varied character as they seem to parallel quite closely in nature and functions the famous jinn[53] of Arabic lore whose nature and activities show great variety. As Robertson Smith has pointed out,[54] the jinn are assigned to those regions that are inhabited by wild beasts and reptiles, and undoubtedly many of the evils attributed to the jinn are traceable to actual peril from the animals. Early man is haunted by a dread of the unknown jungle regions that are the haunts of such animals - which are often identified with the jinn or demonic spirits.

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[51] Lev. 17:7.

[52] W.R.Smith, RS , pp. 131 f.

[53] On the jinn see W.R.Smith, RS, pp. 120-33, 538-41, and n. 1, p. 538 for literature; Doughty, op. cit., passim; Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. (London, 1926), I, 262-413, (for present customs and ideas in Morocco); R.C. Thompson, Semitic Magic, pp. 57-60.

[54] RS, pp. 131 f.

> In conquering the earth for himself primitive man has to contend not only with material difficulties but with superstitious terror of the unknown, paralyzing his energies and forbidding him freely to put forth his strength to subdue nature to his use. Where the unknown demons reign he is afraid to set his foot to make the good things of nature his own.[55]

Not only man but the domestic animals also must be protected against these vaguely defined powers of evil. That the rites to the "hairy ones" would be inclusive of man and beast is all the more certain when we recall the strong solidarity that existed between the human and the lower animal members of a primitive social group.

Doughty gives an interesting experience in which a modern Arab (a Moslem) offered a sheep as a sacrifice to the jinn to guard his camels against harm.

> At evening, he offered a young sheep for the health of his camels, - mesquin! unwitting of the Will above and the event determined against him! A month later they were in the power of the enemy. The ewe he had cast silent and struggling to (the) ground (the head of every sacrifice is turned towards Mecca); then Mishwat, kneeling upon it, in the name of God, drew his sword across the throat. Some of the spouting blood he caught in the bowl, and with this he passed devoutly through the troop; and putting in with his fingers he bedaubed with a blood-streak the neck and flank of every one of his couching great cattle.[56]

Although direct evidence of the same purpose in the sacrifices to the satyrs is not found in the Old Testament records it is reasonable to assume that it was included in their ritual to avert the malice of these powers. The Azazel ceremony described in Leviticus 16, but unquestionably representing a very early practice, is probably the form in which this early apotropaic rite survived in the later period of Hebrew history.[57] In its present form in Leviticus the purpose is to grant immunity from sin to the whole social group but this apparently represents a later theological interpretation of the practice. Originally it was almost certainly a realistic form of ritual to protect the whole community, human and animal, against the hostile demons of the mysterious, unexplored and uninhabited regions.

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[55] W.R.Smith, RS, p. 122.
[56] C.M.Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I, 499.

D. Demons in Relation to Social Organization and Experience.

I. Protection for the Dwelling Place

Nowhere was there more need for caution in guarding against the evil spirits than in the home and family relationships. In the first place the dwelling-place must be given proper protection. Among the various Semitic groups, including the Hebrews, it was customary to offer foundation sacrifices at the building of new houses as well as of public buildings and city walls. In many cases these were human sacrifices.[58] Modern excavators in Palestine have repeatedly unearthed skeletons of infants and sometimes even of adults under the walls or doors of houses, at Gezer, Megiddo and other sites.[59] One Old Testament writer tells us that when Hiel, the Bethelite, rebuilt Jericho in the days of Ahab, "He laid its foundations upon Abiram, his first-born, and he set up its gates upon Segub, his youngest son."[60]

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[57] For further discussion of this rite see infra. pp.232f. For an extensive discussion of similar ceremonies among many peoples see J.G.Frazer, The Golden Bough; A Study in Magic and Religion, 12 vols., (3rd ed., London, 1907-15), Vol. IX, The Scapegoat; Thompson, Semitic Magic, pp. 183 ff.

[58] W.R.Smith, RS, additional note by S.A.Cook, pp. 632-34.

[59] R.A.S.Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine, pp. 293 f.

[60] I Kings 16:34, (Am. trans.)

The long and ghastly story of human sacrifice by the Hebrews and their contemporaries is reflected in the records of prophets and historians.[61] To say that these sacrifices were all made to placate demons would undoubtedly be an overstatement, but to leave out of account the demonic factor would be to overlook an important element. The slaying of a beloved child as a sacrifice would be carried out only under the most extreme circumstances, to avert some terrible impending evil. It might be suggested that the purpose was to secure divine favor in a critical enterprise. But men do not go to such lengths of religious devotion unless they are absolutely necessary, to avert the wrath of gods or demons.[62]

In some cases it is sufficient to offer an animal as a sacrifice to placate the demons or jinn that endanger those erecting a new building. Doughty tells of the slaughter of a goat and the smearing of its blood on the corner of a new building to protect the workmen from the jinn.[63] In Syria today the Moslems offer a sacrifice known as the Fedou at the foundation of every new house, to ward off evil spirits. They say, "Every house must be redeemed. If not redeemed by the sacrifice of some animal, it must be redeemed by a human life......It keeps off disease and the *jinn*."[64] Similar sacrifices are offered to the evil spirits that dwell in caves before the people will consider living in them, even for a short time.[65]

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[61] See, e.g., Gen. 22; Exod. 22:30; 34:19; Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5; Deut. 18:10; Judg. 11:30 f.; 34-40; I Sam. 14:45; 15:1-33; I Kings 11:7; 16:34; II Kings 3:27; 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10,13; Ps. 106:37 f.; Jer. 7:30-32; 19:1-13; Ezek. 16:20 f.; 23:37-39; cf. W.H.Bennett, "Molech, Moloch", HDB, III, 415-17; J.G.Frazer, GB, Part III, The Dying God, pp. 166-80 and sources there cited.

[62] Philo of Byblus tells of human sacrifices among the ancient Phoenicians to placate evil demons. He says, "It was an ancient custom in a crisis of great danger that the ruler of a city or nation should give his beloved son to die for the whole people, as a ransom offered to the avenging demons; and the children thus offered were slain with mystic rites. So Cronus, whom the Phoenicians call Israel, being king of the land and having an only-begotten son called Jeoud (for in the Phoenician tongue Jeoud signifies 'only-begotten'), dressed him in royal robes and sacrificed him upon the altar in time of war, when the country was in great danger from the enemy." Quoted by Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelii, I, 10; 29 f.; in Frazer, op. cit., p. 166.

[63] C.M.Doughty, Arabia Deserta, II, 100.

The threshold of the house seems to have been particularly subject to perils from evil forces, or at least it was the logical place to give the needed protection. As Gray has pointed out these dangers are of two kinds, those within the dwelling which would harm the inmates, and those from without which might enter to do them injury. There are blood rituals to insure protection in both cases.

> The outpouring of blood at the *open* entrance to a cave before it is occupied as a dwelling, or before a *new* house, as also on the foundations of a new house, are most readily and naturally explained as offering made in the first instance to the spirits of the spot, who are thought of as within the cave or on the site of the new house, with a view of propitiating them. This original idea may be modified or obscured through the influence of higher beliefs, but it is probably the origin of rites that still survive among both the Christian and Mohammedan population in Syria. ...But there is another blood ritual of the door; this consists in the application of the blood outside the *closed* door. This is not a ritual that is at all obviously directed towards propitiating a power within the house with whom those who are to live in the house must make their peace; on the other hand , it obviously suggests a relation to some power without the house, which it is desired to prevent from gaining entrance. To this class of door rituals the Passover blood ritual as described in Exod. 12 clearly belongs: the blood is applied to the outside of the lintel and doorposts and then the door is shut fast; moreover, in the story told to explain the rite the purpose of the ritual is quite distinctly said to be the exclusion of Yahweh, or his representative or manifestation, "The Destroyer" (Exod. 12). The blood

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[64] S.I.Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, pp. 196 f.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 183 ff. ; For similar rites, including human sacrifice, in connection with the building of houses, bridges, etc. among many peoples, in many ages, see H.C.Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 45-57; Article "On Kirk Grims," *Cornhill Magazine*, New Series, Vol. VIII, (1887), pp. 189-99.

> ritual of the early Passover is thus an instance of what we may term the "re-inforced closed door": the closed door by itself is insufficient to keep out the unwelcome visitant; it is strengthened by the application of blood, salt, plants of special virtue, or by the delineations of the outspread hand, all of which in folk custom are credited with virtue in repelling unwelcome spirits.[66]

The Passover ritual as described in Exodus is clearly apotropaic. When Moses and Aaron asked Pharaoh's permission to go into the desert to sacrifice to Yahweh their request showed an impending danger, "Pray, let us make a three days' journey into the desert to offer sacrifices to Yahweh, our God, lest he strike us with pestilence or sword."[67] When the Passover ritual was observed the blood was smeared on doorposts and lintels to protect the firstborn sons from Yahweh's destroyer.[68] But while the Exodus account mentions Yahweh as the supernatural power to be warded off, this probably is a theological revision of an earlier conception in which some demonic spirit or spirits constituted the menace to be averted. This interpretation suggested by Gray seems in harmony both with the early ideas of the Hebrews and with later trends in theological reconstruction that substituted Yahweh for other superhuman beings.

> What the ancient Hebrews endeavoured to repel from their houses were spirits, demons of plague or sickness or the like, much as the modern Bedawy or Syrian peasant. The lawgiver, as in other instances, allows the old custom deeply rooted in religious belief which recognized other unseen powers than Yahweh to continue, but endeavours to supply it with a reason that enforces the supremacy of Yahweh; it tolerates the custom but seeks to undermine the the devotion of the people to or their concern with these other objects of religious awe.

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[66] G.B.Gray, Sacrifice in the O. T., (Oxford, 1925), pp. 362 f.

[67] Exod. 5:3

[68] Exod. 12:13; 22 f.; 29; For an interpretation of the time of the full moon in spring as a time of peculiar danger from evil spirits see C.Noyes, The Genius of Israel, pp. 54 f., quoted infra p.119.

> In this particular instance the law gradually effected the cessation of the custom. But the old apotropaic motive reappeared in another form: it is not any longer, however, the blood that keeps something out of the house, but the punctual discharge of the Paschal ritual: again, it is not the jinns or spirits or beings that could in any way dispute the supremacy with Yahweh that are repelled, but evils controlled by Yahweh and by him kept away from the houses of those who carry out his ritual law.[69]

The use of blood and salt on the door of the house in modern Syria for keeping away evil spirits furnishes a good example of the persistence of such rites for millennia.

> The hand.....is sometimes found on Moslem houses, the sequel of some occasion of sacrifice.... those concerned will dip their hands in the blood of the victim, goat and sheep and fowl, and will mark some flat surface near the entrance to the house to distract the attention of the Jinn... Salt is sacred, and a little spread on the threshold of a house or room has a good effect and serves to keep powers of evil at a distance.[70]

Perhaps we are to interpret the purpose of the "words of the covenant of Yahweh" to be written on the door posts as likewise that of repelling demonic spirits from the dwellings of faithful Hebrews.[71] In Babylonian Judaism of the Talmudic period we find bowls inscribed with magic formulae to drive away all sorts of evil spirits from the household.[72] They were often placed at the four corners of the dwelling to protect the whole area enclosed. Although they represent a later form of protection of the household from demonic forces the purpose they serve is fundamentally that of the earlier Hebrew practices we have been considering.

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[69] G.B.Gray, op. cit., pp. 364 f.; cf. Jubilees 49:15 for a combination of earlier motive and later theology, where the observance of the Passover ritual assures Yahweh's protection from destroying plagues.

[70] Spoer, in Folklore, XVIII, pp. 66 f., 70; quoted in Gray, op. cit., p. 363; Westermarck, Morocco, Its Ritual and Belief, I, 293-96, tells of Jnun (Jinn) that haunt threshold, fire and fireplace in Morocco today.

[71] Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21; Koran texts are employed for the same purpose in Syria today. Trumbull, op. cit., p. 70 and n. 4; for similar uses in Talmudic Judaism see Infra, pp. 189ff.

[72] See J.A.Montgomery, Arabic Incantation Texts from Nippur for extensive materials in original and translation with valuable interpretation.

II. Marriage and Family Relations

But it was also necessary to provide further protection for the family. There are various functions and experiences of the family and its members that are particularly fraught with danger from hostile powers. The establishment of a new family with all its new relationships involves the possibility of many perils. Among the Arabs the greatest care was observed to avert the malicious influence of the demons that menaced the consummation of a marriage on the first night.[73] A close parallel in post-exilic Judaism is seen in the book of Tobit. Here Asmodeus, the demon-lover of the young woman Sarah, had slain in succession her seven husbands, on their bridal nights.[74] It was only when Tobias had conquered the demon by fumigation that he was able to claim his bride in safety and avoid the fate of his predecessors.[75] Perhaps this fear of the dangers from evil spirits in connection with the initial marital relationship was largely responsible for the sacrifice of maidens' virginity at the temple of Aphrodite in Babylon.[76] This fear is very widespread and various plans have been worked out to thwart the demons in their nefarious relationship.[77] The Jews shared with other peoples of antiquity and of Palestine today a belief in the possibility and the actual occurrence of such intercourse between the *jinn* or other spirits and human beings.[78]

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[73] Wellhausen, Reste Arab. Heid., 2 ed., p. 155.

[74] Tobit 3:7-9; 6:13 f.; 7:11

[75] Ibid., 8:1-3

[76] Herodotus, History, trans. by G.Rawlinson, 2 vols. (London, 1910), I,199; Cf. Lucian, The Syrian Goddess, ed. by Strong and Garstang, for same practice at Byblus and Justin, 18.5 which seems to imply the same at Cyprus; see also Test of Judah 12:2 regarding the Amorites; Curtiss, op. cit., pp. 154 f., tells us that these practices are still followed out in Baalbek and Egypt.

[77] Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religions geschichte, (München, 1897-1906), p. 903, n. 3.

In later Judaism the evil spirits responsible for these and other deeds that imperil family life are called Liliths. They are referred to in the Old Testament as female demons of the night that lived in the waste places,[79] and exercised a baneful influence upon human kind.[80] In the Talmudic period the Liliths are particularly associated with the dangers incident to motherhood and child life. In the Aramaic bowl inscriptions edited by Montgomery the incantations against them are made for the protection of the home and various aspects of family life. They are most frequently set forth in the names of the women and children of the household, those most in need of protection against hostile spirits. Here we see the malicious demons haunting the houses, lurking in arches and thresholds or even dwelling in the house itself.

They are described as engaging in sexual intercourse with human beings and generating offspring, appearing to men and women by night as phantom beings of the opposite sex. They are particularly violent in their attacks upon little children as the detested offspring of human wedlock. Upon them the demons vent their wrath mercilessly, plaguing, throttling and even devouring them. One of these Liliths is called "Murderess, daughter of Murderess" and "Strangler".[81] In another text the cruel spirit is associated with the personifications of barrenness and abortion.[82]

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[78] P.Baldensperger, "Woman in the Orient," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, pp. 148 ff.; Curtiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-19; "The Testament of Solomon," quoted by Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review, XI*, (1898). p. 17.

[79] Isa. 34:14

[80] See G.A.Barton, "Demons and Spirits (Hebrew)," *ERE*, IV, 596a.

[81] No. 36, see p. 77; also p. 238 for text of inscription.

In the Babylonian sources the Lilith is "the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special object of her malice".[83] Whether these dread female demons exercised precisely the same functions among the Hebrews cannot be proved from the meager source materials available. But it seems certain that there were in Hebrew life some demonic forces that were responsible for practically these functions, whether or not they were called Liliths in the earlier period. We know of these demons in the Old Testament; that such demons were for a long period associated with these intimate experiences of motherhood and the care of children in Babylonia; that the conditions of life and the world view of the Hebrews were such as to produce this type of interpretation of these dangers to family life; and that in later Jewish circles these dreaded powers of destruction presided over the same areas of life. All these facts furnish a strong presumption in favor of their occupying a like position in pre-exilic Israel.

The critical experiences of maternity, the care of children through complexity of perilous situations, and the protection of the wife and mother through all the mysterious and awesome phases of sexual development provide a wide realm of life activities demanding religious securities. In a prescientific culture there was the necessity for religious rites to insure the favor of the beneficent powers and avert the wrath of malicious spirits operating in these areas of experience.[84] Yahweh ultimately came to have supervision over many of these functions but only after a slow process of absorption or assimilation. For the great majority of the people even after he became the deity who protected them against these evils it was still the demons that were responsible for the calamities.

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[82] No. 11, p. 77; see p. 170 for text; for Montgomery's discriminating discussion with copious reference materials, see pp. 75-78.

[83] *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

One of the greatest blessings which could come to a Hebrew woman was motherhood, particularly to be the mother of sons; while barrenness was almost an unendurable curse.[85] In most of the Old Testament accounts of barren women, it is said that Yahweh was responsible for their failure to bear children.[86] But here as in so many other cases the records represent the prophetic attempt to bring everything under the jurisdiction of Yahweh. That there was a more primitive belief in a spirit of barrenness is shown by the earlier stratum in the story of Rachel. In this older account the mandrakes have magical efficacy in removing the cause of barrenness[87] (apparently a demon), but the later writer gives the credit for her child-bearing to the deity.[88] It is because of this interest of the leaders of the Yahweh cult in subordinating everthing to him that much of the specific evidence of demonic powers is submerged.

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[84] Cf. the Karine or evil spirit of family life in Palestine today, a sort of "double" of each woman, whose business is "everything contrary to the happiness of conjugal life." Baldensperger, op. cit., pp. 149 f.

[85] Sarah, Rachel and Hannah are typical examples.

[86] See, e.g., Gen. 16:2; 29:31; 30:2; I Sam. 1:5 f.

[87] Gen. 30:14-16

[88] Gen. 30:22; Did Elisha use some magical power to expel a demon of barrenness from the Shunamite woman, II Kings 4:12-17?

One of the Aramaic incantation texts[89] has a charm to protect the bride against the evil spirit that would destroy her power of motherhood. There are various rites practiced by the barren women of modern Syria and Palestine to insure fertility.[90] The ancient Assyrians found it necessary to safeguard mother and child at the time of childbirth against the attacks of the hostile demon Labartu.[91] Spirits of evil with similar functions in late Judaism are described in the Testament of Solomon.[92] These all bear testimony to the widespread fear of hostile powers at times of sexual crises. The practice among the Hebrews of sacred prostitution at their shrines,[93] the enforcement of rigorous taboos in connection with menstruation and other sexual functions,[94] and the stress placed upon circumcision as a sacred rite with apotropaic significance,[95] are further evidence of recognized dangers to be averted in these experiences. The whole question of the relation of ritual uncleanness to demonic forces is one that requires further study. But there are indications that at least in some cases there was a very close relationship.[96]

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[89] No. 36, Montgomery, AITN, p. 238; cf. the Tobit incident, in chaps. 6-8.

[90] Curtiss, op. cit., pp. 116-19; cf. pp. 201 f. for rites at birth of child to guarantee its safety.

[91] M.Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 310.

[92] Conybeare, JQR,XI, (1898), pp. 29 f., for modern examples of charms, etc. to guard against child-stealing witches, see M.Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of Charm Against the Child-Stealing Witch," Folklore, XI, (1900), No. 11, pp. 133 ff.; For similar demons in antiquity see Montgomery, AITN, section on Liliths.

[93] Lev. 23:29; I Sam. 2:22; I Kings 14:24; 15:12; II Kings 23:7; Hos. 4:12-14; Jer. 3:6; 7:18; chap. 44; Deut. 23:18; Num. 25:6-9.

[94] A.S.Peake, "Unclean, Uncleanness," HDB, IV, pp. 827b-829a for a good summary with source materials; R.C.Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 117 and n. 2.

[95] Note esp. Exod. 4:24 ff.; Cook in W.R.Smith, RS, 3rd ed., pp. 608-10; G.A.Barton, Semitic Origins, pp. 98-101; G.A. Barton, "Circumcision (Semitic)," ERE, III, pp. 679 f.

[96] Cf. Zech. 13:2 which predicts the expulsion of the spirit of uncleanness in the new nation; cf. infra., pp. 217-34.

III. Varied Social Experiences

In the various personal contacts, particularly where the attitude of strife or rivalry entered it seemed natural to the Hebrew to attribute the enmity or conflict to evil spirits. We recall at once the familiar case of Saul whose fits of anger and attempts on the life of David are charged to activity of an evil spirit sent from Yahweh.[97] Of similar significance is the amazing account of the lying spirits sent by Yahweh into the mouths of Ahab's four hundred court prophets to deceive the king and lead him to his doom.[98] Both are cases of possession by evil spirits sent from Yahweh, in the existing records. But if the method of interpreting such experiences suggested above[99] is valid, the original explanation of the incidents made the malevolent demons independent of Yahweh. The political conflict between Abimelech and the men of Shechem,[100] attributed to a evil spirit sent from God, is to be understood in the same way. Possession of an individual by a spirit, either good or bad, is frequently described in the Old Testament. Sometimes it was the beneficent spirit of Yahweh that inspired the utterances of the prophets,[101] led men on to great deeds of valor,[102] strength,[103] skill,[104] or wisdom.[105] In other cases it was an evil spirit sent by the deity to bring injury, calamity, or punishment upon an individual or a group.[106]

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[97] I Sam. 16:14-23; 19:9; 18:10 f. says from God.
[98] I Kings 22:19-23.
[99] See e.g., pp. 88-93.
[100] Judg. 9:23 f.
[101] I Sam. 19:20; II Kings 2:9,15; II Chron. 24:20; Isa. 61:1; Hos. 12:10; Ezek. 2:2; 3:14; for further discussion of possession in the O.T., see L.H.Stafford, The Function of Divine Manifestations in N.T. Times, (Menasha, Wis., 1919), pp. 46-50; E.H.Zaugg, A Genetic Study of Spirit Phenomena in the N.T. (Menasha, Wis.,1917), pp. 23-25.
[102] Judg. 6:14.
[103] Judg. 14:6,9.
[104] Exod. 31:3-11; 35:31-35.
[105] Isa. 11:2; cf. II Chron. 1:11 f.

In either case the unusual achievement in any line of endeavor was explained in supernaturalistic terms. It was necessary for the extraordinary occurrence, or attainment to be explained in terms of a superhuman power or spirit responsible for it. Hence, if the event or the relationship was unpleasant or harmful it was to be attributed to an evil spirit or demon that had taken possession of the person. This was the natural interpretation for those of the stage of culture represented by the Hebrews, especially since so many of these experiences were only temporary, and at these times the actions of the individuals were so strikingly different from their ordinary conduct as to demand an unusual explanation. Tylor has set forth clearly the psychology of the primitive mind in trying to understand these striking experiences,[107] and the conditions of life among the Hebrews are in harmony with such an interpretation.

IV. Protective Public Ritual

We have already noticed certain phases of the public ritual of the Hebrews to avert attacks of demonic powers.[108] The continuance of the apotropaic significance in connection with the Passover is seen as late as the book of Jubilees. Here we read:

> And no plague shall come upon them in this year [i.e., any year] to kill and destroy them, if they observe the Passover at its season according to its ordinance.[109]

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[106] Hos. 4:12; 5:4; Isa. 19:14; 29:10; Zech. 13:2; for methods of exorcism of evil spirits among the Hebrews, see next section on Disease and Death.

[107] E.B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, II, 124-43, esp. p. 124 for this phase of it.

[108] See pp. 103-5 for interpretation of Passover.

[109] Jub. 49:15.

Other practices seem to serve similar purposes. References to the early observance of the sabbath point to it as an inauspicious time when one's conduct must be safeguarded with the greatest care. So grim were the dangers to be shunned that the violations of the taboos built around it involved death for the offender, lest the whole community suffer.[110] It is now recognized that the sabbath among the Hebrews, like its Babylonian prototype was closely related to the phases of the moon.[111] These came at the times of transition and naturally there was associated with them an element of uncertainty and concern.[112] This was greatest at the time of the moon's disappearance at the end of the month, but was present to a minor degree at other transition periods. The disappearance of the moon was often represented in ancient myth as the capture of the heavenly orb by hostile demons.[113] Its release from these demons at the proper time was a cause for much concern among primitive peoples, and its return heralded with great joy. Travellers in the interior of Arabia today tell us that among the nomadic tribes there the appearance of the new moon is received with shouting, clapping of hands and dancing.[114] In the Talmud we learn of a late Jewish custom of having watchers stationed on the highest points of Jerusalem to watch for the reappearance of the new moon, and report their observation of it at once to the waiting

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[110] Num. 15:32-36; cf. Exod. 16:23; 35:3.

[111] See, e.g., S.R.Driver, "Sabbath," HDB, IV, pp. 317 ff.; M.Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, pp. 145-74; note esp. II Kings 4:23; Isa. 1:13; 66:23; Amos 8:5; Hos. 2:11; Ezek. 46:2.

[112] For the significance of the transition periods in early social groups see A.Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage, (Paris, 1909), where a wealth of illustrative material is presented; cf. H.Webster, "Sabbath (Primitive)," ERE, X, pp. 885-889.

[113] See R.C.Thompson, Semitic Magic, pp. 52-56 for sources.

[114] See, e.g., C.M.Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I,366; II,305.

Sanhedrin. When two observers had so reported, the official declaration of the beginning of the new month was made.[115] Even to the present time the new moon's appearance is observed as a solemn ceremony in the Jewish church.[116] The presence of such ceremonies of solemnity and joy reveals an underlying atmosphere of concern or even anxiety lest the moon should not return at the proper time. The attitudes associated with it in later times of course represent a decided change in outlook but its early significance was probably very closely interwoven with fear of angry deities or demons that must be placated.

The dangerous character of the lunar periods in Babylonian thought is further confirmed by cuneiform texts which show the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month to be "evil" or "unlucky" days.[117] On these days of the intercalary month following the sixth month the king as official representative of the nation must observe very careful religious restrictions to insure the safety of his people. And on many of these days each month very strict precautions must be taken to avert impending evils. The Hebrew Law also required addidtional cult rites at some of these times. Thus, at the time of new moon the number of burnt-offerings must be greatly increased and a kid of the goats was to be sacrificed in addition as a sin-offering.[118]

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[115] Talmud Babli, Sanhedrin, fol. 102; Rosh ha-Shana II,7; Reference in Jastrow, op. cit., p. 160 and n. 1.

[116] Dembitz, Jewish Service in Synagogue and Home, p. 152; reference in Jastrow, op. cit., 148 and n.1.

[117] II Rawlinson, Pl. 32, Nr. I 16: Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, Part XVIII., Pl. 23, 17 (K. 4397); Also IV Rawlinson, 2 ed., Pl. 32-33 and V Rawlinson, Pl. 48-49; see Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 134-53 for discussion of the significance of the rites observed on these days. For lunar phases as unlucky days among many peoples, see H.Webster, "Sabbath (Primitive)," ERE, X, 885-89.

[118] Num. 28:11-15; 29:6; see discussion by Harding, "Feasts and Fasts," HDB, I,859 f.

In the Priestly code in which this is embodied we have a late emphasis but the choice of such a time for additional rites probably represents a hang-over of an earlier feeling that such times were particularly inauspicious and demanded placation of spirits that might be offended. And as in the case of many other areas of life Yahweh has taken over the control of functions originally associated with other (often hostile) superhuman powers. Since the customs and rites for averting the wrath of these powers have become so thoroughly ingrained in popular practice they are retained and brought under the jurisdiction of the national deity who gives sanction and support to all tribal morality.[119]

E. Demonic Forces in Relation to Disease and Death

In dealing with disease and death we are considering experiences which are not only the universal lot of mankind, but are also closely associated with most intimate personal attitudes. While the Old Testament reveals the presence of quite a number and variety of ailments the Hebrews on the whole lived in comparatively good health. Macalister gives the following reasons for these healthful conditions of their life: (1) there were few sluggish streams, (2) the valleys were windswept, (3) there were malarious diseases in only a few communities, (5) the sanitary legislation of the priests would check the spread of disease, (6) the social system of legislation did not allow of the development of any extremely destitute class of people, (7) there was no permanent overcrowding in the larger towns, at least until a late period.[120] In most cases the references which we find to disease are either too general to give exactness or they deal with specific individual cases.

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[119] Cf. H.Webster, "Sabbath (Primitive)," ERE, X, 886.

I. Yahweh as the Source of Health and Disease

Health was looked upon by the Hebrew as one of the greatest of human blessings.[121] Like material prosperity it was regarded as a reward sent by Yahweh upon the righteous, but withheld from the sinful.[122] Disease, in the Old Testament records, is considered as coming ultimately from God, and is a punishment for sin. This point of view is set forth most fully in the book of Job, being represented as the popular conception of the cause of disease and suffering championed by the friends of Job but vigorously refuted by the hero himself. Diseases are sometimes spoken of as the "arrows of God" sent to smite those who violate his requirements. In a characteristic passage the Deuteronomic writer represents Yahweh as threatening punishment on a disobedient nation, in these words:

> I will exhaust calamities upon them;
> I will use up my arrows on them,
> The devastation of famine and the ravages of fever,
> And malignant pestilence,
> And ferocious beasts I will send on them,
> Along with poisonous reptiles......[123]

Many specific instance are also given in which Yahweh sent diseases upon individuals or groups. Miriam, the sister of Moses, was stricken with leprosy as a punishment for presuming to question Moses' course of action.[124] Elisha's servant,

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[120] R.A.S.Macalister, "Medicine," HDB, III, 321a. See the whole article, pp. 321-33 for a splendid discussion of Hebrew diseases and their treatment.

[121] Sirach 30:14-16.

[122] See e.g., Ps. 1; Isa. 58:8; Jer. 8:15,22.

[123] Deut. 32:23 f.; cf. Job 6:4; Ps. 64:7; 144:6; Lam. 3:12; see also Isa. 45:7; Amos 3:6.

[124] Num. 12:2-15.

Gehazi, was afflicted with the same disease because of his acceptance of money from Naaman after his cure by Elisha.[125] It came as a curse from Yahweh and was to pass to all his descendants forever. During the wilderness sojourn Yahweh became angered at the people and slew many of them by a plague contracted from eating quails that he sent.[126] At a later time Yahweh, when angry with the nation, induced David to number the people. Then he punished them with a devastating plague because the king had been so presumptuous as to seek to find out that which only Yahweh himself should know.[127] The plague sent upon Egypt by Yahweh, at the same time that he was inciting Pharaoh to obstinacy in opposing the request of the Hebrews, represents repeated punishments of Yahweh upon a "foreign" people.[128] The smiting of the Philistines with a plague of emerods after their capture of the Ark of the Covenant is another case of Yahweh's vengeance upon a people not under his jurisdiction.[129]

In all these cases and many additional instances that might be cited diseases are ultimately attributed to Yahweh, though he sends them by means of a variety of agencies. Sometimes his personal representatives, the prophets, are the persons through whom they are inflicted, sometimes a special messenger (or angel) of destruction is sent as in the case of David's census and of the Passover destroyer. In the prologue of Job Satan is shown as the one who brings the dreadful malady upon the sufferer, but here too it is with the divine permission.[130]

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[125] II Kings 5:20-27.

[126] Num. 11:33 f.; for another similar instance see Num. 16:44-48.

[127] II Sam. 24.

[128] Exod. 7:14; 12:28

[129] I Sam. chaps. 5, 6.

[130] Job. 2:7.

Such forms of personal conduct as gluttony, drunkenness, self-indulgence and vicious practices are looked upon as the immediate causes of certain ailments, but here too the results are regarded as the outworking of God's divine plan rather than as independent occurrences.[131] Even in the situation where there is specific mention of an evil spirit as the cause of disease, it is said to have come from the deity.[132]

II. Demons and Disease

Thus, at first sight, demons seem to have very little to do with physical ailments among the Hebrews in this pre-exilic period. But a more careful scrutiny reveals a much closer relationship than is evident on the surface. As in the other ealms of human interest already studied, the authors of our sources have here tried to show Yahweh's supervision over this area of life. Hence he is given responsibility for sending the diseases, according to the leaders of the Yahweh cult who have given us the literary records. But there are traces of the earlier and popular beliefs in demonology protruding above the surface in spite of all attempts of prophetic writers to cover them with Yahweh's control. Undoubtedly the same kind of long and bitter struggle was carried on here as in the conflict between Yahweh and the Baalim as the guarantors and providers of crops, which continued for so many centuries.[133] Long after the religious leaders had advanced beyond the primitive ideas the great mass of the populace continued to be dominated by their power.

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[131] Sirach 37:30 f.

[132] I Sam. 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9; Macalister interprets Job 5:2 as a statement of disease caused by the envy of others, and I Sam. 18:9 as a case of the evil eye to bring harm. The first case seems a little overdrawn. With regard to the evil eye, there is considerable evidence in the O.T. to indicate a belief in its malevolence. See Judg. 8:21; Deut. 28:54,56; Isa. 13:18; Ps. 92:11; Prov. 23:6; 28:22; Cf. Matt. 6:22 f.; 20:15; Luke 11:34. For a discussion of this theme see F.T. Elworthy, "Evil Eye," ERE, V, 608-15 and references there cited, especially his volume The Evil Eye, (London, 1895). Copious sources are presented showing the widespread prevalence of this fear of the evil eye among Semitic and non-Semitic groups, from a remote antiquity to the present time.

We are repeatedly told that Saul's mania which led him to seek the life of David was caused by an evil spirit.[134] The expulsion of the demon by the strains of music is in line with primitive magical conceptions of demonic activity and exorcism. The idea that Yahweh sent the spirit of jealous rage is, however, in a different thought world. It is the attempt of the author to give a theological interpretation to the popular belief that he may make Yahweh supreme in this as well as other realms of life. If Yahweh had sent the evil spirit and was really in control of the situation it could not have been exorcised so easily without his permission. According to the early form of the story, which represented the popular view, the evil spirit must have been wholly independent of Yahweh and have been exorcised without any reference to him. Likewise the destroyer of the Passover was a demon of the plague that threatened the lives of the nomadic community at the time of the full moon in spring, and could be averted only by an offering of blood.

> Vitally inwrought with the ceremony of the Passover was the old conception, universal and eternal in the desert, of the efficacy of blood. The night of this festival of the full moon of spring, held after sundown in the middle of the first month, was a night of danger, when the destroyer was abroad and must be placated; it was enjoined upon the Israelites as a night of watching unto Yahweh.

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[133] The prevalence among the people of the older dependence upon the indigenous gods of the soil is clearly shown as late as the 8th century B.C., in Hos. 2:5-13.

[134] I Sam. 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9; Macalister, loc. cit., p. 327a, describes Saul's malady as a typical case of "recurrent paroxysmal mania rather than of melancholia."

> So in the solemn dark, the blood of the sacrifice was smeared on the tent door, averting the threat of hostile beings that might lie in wait to strike, perhaps some demon of the plague: "lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword!"[135]

But the author of our account, eager to show how Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, has guided their national destinies from the beginning, makes him master of the whole situation. In his revision of the story, Yahweh sends the destroyer to slay the firstborn sons of Hebrews and Egyptians, but provides for the Hebrews who are obedient to him a way of escape from the fatal messenger.[136]

The two strata of thought are to be seen also in the story of the plague that devastated the land in David's time. During his reign the nation was smitten by a pestilence that ravaged far and wide.[137] The natural way of interpreting this national calamity was in terms of a plague demon that swept through the land striking down its victim in great numbers. But this popular interpretation was unacceptable to the Yahweh-cult leaders who were stressing the exclusive control of their national deity. Popular belief in demons as the cause of such pestilences was too strong to be ignored completely; hence the activity of the plague demon is retained in the story but he is made the agent of Yahweh in punishing a sinful nation. By such a process of assimilation Yahweh gradually comes to a position of supremacy in his dominance of Hebrew life. But in spite of the new thought-pattern that results from this process of interweaving by the Yahweh writers, the old threads of demonic beliefs are still clearly visible.

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[135] C.Noyes, The Genius of Israel, pp. 54 f.

[136] For a refutation of the idea sometimes advanced that makes Yahweh the dangerous deity to be warded off, see G.B.Gray, Sacrifice in the O.T., p. 364.

[137] II Sam. chap. 24, esp. vs. 15-17; the Chronicler's account is in I Chron., chap. 21; cf. Ps. 91:6 for "the pestilence that stalks in darkness" and "the plague that wastes at noonday" (Am. tr.) The story of the slaying of a large portion

In discussing this incident of the pestilence in David's kingdom Kohler says:

> there are many indications that popular Hebrew mythology ascribed to the demons a certain independence, a malevolent character of their own, because they are believed to come forth, not from the heavenly abode YHWH , but from the nether world.[138]

The same author sees a close relationship between the Hebrew pestilence demon and the Assyrian destroyer, Nergal.

> Deber ("pestilence"), originally the death-dealing sting of the midsummer sun-god Nergal...., and Keteb ("smiter"), the deadly hot wind (Deut. 32:24; Isa. 28:2...), are demons, the one walking in darkness, the other storming along in midday (A. V. "that wasteth at noonday"), against which God's protection is invoked in the incantatory psalm..91:5,6.[139]

Demonic activity also seems evident in attacks of leprosy. As a disease which was well known to the Hebrews and greatly dreaded by them it was regarded with a great deal of horror. In the priestly legislation it was considered as a special curse[140] sent from Yahweh and very elaborate regulations were provided for dealing with those afflicted by it.[141] The sufferer from this dread disease was unclean and must be isolated from society. When cured he must perform the required ceremonial acts to become ritually clean, to be restored to his normal

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of Sennacherib's army is given in II Kings 19:35. The angel of Yahweh is the agent of destruction here.

[138] K.Kohler, "Demonology," Jewish Encyclopedia, IV, 515; cf. Isa. 38:11; Job 14:13; Ps. 16:10; 49:16; 139:8; Job 18:13 f. (Heb.)

[139] Kohler, loc. cit., p. 516; for fuller consideration of demons of pestilence among Assyrians and Babylonians see M.Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions, pp. 205 f.; The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 66 f., 183, 593; R.C. Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, vol. I, tablet V, col. 2, lines 65 ff.; R.C.Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 48, index "Demon."

[140] Lev. 13:3; cf. Lev. 14:22 and Deut. 24:8.

[141] Lev. chaps. 13, 14.

status in the social group, and to atone for the sin that was originally responsible for the disease. As a part of this restoration ceremony is the following procedure:

> Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two living clean birds, and cedar-wood, and scarlet, and hyssop: and the priest shall command to kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over running water. As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water: and he shall sprinkle him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let the living bird go into the open field.[142]

III. Demons and Death

In spite of the late theological elements that have come into the priestly ritual, there are elements of the earlier thought atmosphere and practice still persisting. The disease is looked upon as an entity and there is efficacy in the blood to drive away the disease demon from the victim to his home in the desolate regions away from human habitations.[143] The ceremony which is now said to be performed for the purification of the one already healed of the leprosy is probably a development from an earlier exorcism ritual to drive out the disease demon from the tormented victim. Perhaps the rite is the same but the interpretation of its significance has undergone an evolution as the national cult of Yahweh supplanted the earlier forms of apotropaic rites to insure the welfare of the group.

The experience of death also involved relations with dangerous powers. These, to a very large extent, were the spirits or ghosts of the dead. Many Hebrew customs show an attitude of great fear toward the ghosts of the departed. The strong social solidarity of Hebrew life led to the inclusion of the dead with the living members of the tribal group. In fact the dead were the members of the social group whose good will it was most imperative to cultivate. It was comparatively easy to tell what to expect from the living members of the tribe but very difficult to estimate the conduct of the invisible, potent ghosts of the dead. Hence, the Hebrews, like many other peoples of antiquity, developed well-recognized rites to insure right relations with the departed members of their group. The cult of the dead, involving a number of practices, flourished in early Israel. Its prevalence as late as Deuteronomic code is witnessed by the law demanding that a man, in paying his tithes, swear that he had not offered any part of them to the dead.[144]

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[142] Lev. 14:4-7; cf. vss. 10-20, 21-32, 49-53 for other phases of the process.

[143] Cf. K.Kohler, loc. cit., p. 514; A.H.Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, (1887), p. 46.

The necessity of burial[145] for the dead was not merely for the purpose of insuring greater hapiness for the dead; it was just as much to guarantee the living immunity from the possible harmful activities of the ghosts of the dead. Similarly it is at least a possibility that such mourning practices as kissing the dead,[146] the veiling of the head,[147] cutting oneself for the dead,[148] and wailing loudly,[149] all had as one of their aims the security of the group against hostile influences of the spirits of the deceased or of demons of death. Saul's terror upon the appearance of the ghost of Samuel is a vivid illustration of the fear these departed spirits might inspire in the living.[150] The grip which the practice of conjuring the spirits of the dead held upon the Hebrews is seen in the strict prohibition of such observances which is enjoined by the Deuteronomist.[151]

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[144] Deut. 26:14; cf. I Sam. 28:13; Isa. 8:19 for worship of spirits of the dead.

[145] See e.g., I Sam. 31:13; Jer. 8:1 f.; 16:6; a classical example of this point of view in Greek literature is Sophocles' *Antigone*.

[146] Gen. 50:1; I Sam. 10:1; Hos. 13:2; I Kings 19:18; see also J.G.Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, 248, 280 f., 293.

[147] II Sam. 5:30; Jer. 14:3 f.; cf. Gen. 16:13; 19:17; Exod. 3:6; 19:21; 33:20 which suggest fear of looking on deity as a possible reason.

[148] Jer. 16:6; Deut. 14:1 ff.; Lev. 19:27 f.; 21:5.

[149] See C.M.Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 424 for the Arabian sustom of wailing or singing loudly to scare death away from the sick.

Perhaps stoning was chosen as the method of putting criminals to death because it provided a ready means of insuring the safety of society against the vengeance of the spirit of the slain.

> The process of execution by stoning was assuredly followed in order that the ghost of the dead should be enclosed at once in a great carn, that would effectually shut it in and prevent it from wreaking its vengeance upon those who had deprived it of its life on the earth: compare the heaps of stones erected over notorious malefactors such as Achan and Absolom. Even the Book of Deuteronomy, for all its monotheism, cannot abrogate the ancient rite of the sacrifice of the red heifer, to appease the wrath of one whose blood has been shed unavenged; parallels from all over the world may be brought into comparison therewith to explain it.[152]

But the dangers associated with death were not limited to the activities of ghosts. There were evil spirits or demons of death that smote mankind. For, although Yahweh is said to have been responsible for death[153] the earlier strata of the records clearly reveals the more primitive belief in deathdealing spirits independent of Yahweh. We have already considered instances of fatal pestilence demons and seen how they were operative in early times apart from the Yahweh cult. There seem to have been demons of death that snatched away the living to the abode of the dead. In later Hebrew times these were interpreted more or less in the same terms as the corresponding demons in Babylonian thought. But the conceptions are primitive and there seems little doubt of their prevalence in Israel at an early date. Steps toward identification would naturally be made after the more intimate contacts of the exile.

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[150] I Sam. 28:3-25.

[151] Deut. 14:1; 26:14.

[152] R.A.S.Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine, pp. 315 f.

[153] Num. 11:1-3; 21:5-9; II Kings 1:2-7; 21:17-29; Jer. 28:15 f.

> The first-born of Death who devours the members of his (man's) body and causes him to be brought "to the king of terrors" (Job 18:13 f., Heb. 11), is undoubtedly one of the terrible hawk-like demons portrayed in the Babylonian Hades picture...., and the "servants of Nergal," the king of Hades and god of pestilence and fever in Chaldean mythology.[154]

Kohler also sees a close parallel between the vampire of Proverbs and a ravenous demon of the Arabs.

> Alukah (Prov. 30:15) the blood-sucker or vampire, whose daughters cry, "Give! Give!" is none other than the flesh-devouring ghoul of the Arabs, called by them "'aluk" (Wellhausen, l.c., pp. 135-7). She has been rendered in Jewish mythology the demon of the nether world...., and the names of her two daughters have in all probability, as familiar names of dreaded diseases, been dropped.[155]

Probably the parallels in these various Semitic groups are to be explained more in terms of similar experiences associated with disease and death than as cases of direct borrowing. Popular dread of the malicious attacks of such demons under the name of Liliths has already been cited in our study of demons in relation to intimate family experiences.[156]

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[154] K.Kohler, "Demonology," JE, IV, 515 f.

[155] Ibid., p. 516. It has been suggested that David's fast before the death of his child was for the purpose of propitiating the spirit of death; II Sam. 12:15-23.

[156] Supra, pp.107-10.

IV. Methods of Protection

With demons of disease and death as an ever present menace to their health and happiness the Hebrews would naturally have forms of control to avert their attacks wherever possible and to expel those who had already brought them injury. While we do not find elaborate forms of exorcism ritual comparable with those of ancient Babylonia or with the Graeco-Roman world of New Testament times, there were various methods of guaranteeing protection.

1, Yahweh as the Healer of His People

In many of the Old Testament writings Yahweh is represented as the healer of his people. He not only sends disease but is also the true physician who will give health to those who obey his commands, warding off all dangerous diseases.[157] Many instances of healing diseases and a few cases of restoration of the dead by Yahweh's representatives, the prophets, are recorded.[158] In a later period such exclusive dependence upon Yahweh as the healer of his people is stressed that King Asa's resort to a human physician is vigorously condemned.[159] In all these writings the purpose is to emphasize Yahweh's exclusive control of this important area of human experience. In keeping with this theological[160] interest the more primitive practices in the field of exorcism have been obscured. Yet their footprints are still visible in the Hebrew records.

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[157] Exod. 4:11; 15:26; 23:25; Deut. 32:39; Ps. 91:14.

[158] See e.g., I Kings 17:17-24; II Kings 2:19-22; 4:18,37; 38-41; 5:1-14; cf. 20:1-7; Isa. 38:1-5.

[159] II Chron. 16:12 f.; In the writing of Jesus ben Sirach (38:1-15) the physician is held in great honor as an ally of Yahweh in the ministry of healing.

[160] The fundamental interest here is practical, to secure observance of the authoritative Yahweh cult practices, but it looks theological on the surface.

In the story of the capture of the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines the presence of Yahweh brought destruction to the idols in their temples and plagues upon the people.[161] There was a magical potency about the presence of the deity that brought these injuries. This same potency seems to have been efficacious at a later time in subduing the demon of pestilence at the threshing floor of Arauna, the Jebusite, at Jerusalem.[162] Kraeling has suggested that the "house of Obed-Edom", where David left the Ark after Uzzah's fatal experience, was originally a pagan shrine to the goddess Edom, consort of the pestilence demon Reshef and that Yahweh's destructive activities here would be welcomed.

> The house of Obed-Edom may then have been a originally pagan sanctuary where the destructive effect of the ark was to be regarded with equanimity. There was a Palestinian goddess Edom, spouse of Reshef, the god of pestilence, (cf. Muller, Asien und Europa, [1896], p. 316; Hommel, Geographie und Geschichte, etc., [1906], p. 164.) The depositing of the Ark in this place may have had the purpose of neutralizing the pestiferous activities of this divinity in the interest of the population of Jerusalem. From II Sam. 24:16 f. we may conclude that the founding of the sanctuary of Jerusalem on the site of Arauna's threshing floor had some connection with the worship of the deity of pestilence.[163]

Whether or not we accept this suggestive theory it is clear that the Ark of the Covenant, because of the indwelling of Yahweh, had a divine potency that was efficacious for apotropaic and exorcistic functions.

2. Use of the Divine Name

The use of the divine name is another prevalent method of warding off evil spirits of disease among the ancient Semites.[164] He who knew and used the name of a person had a tremendous power over him. When Jacob was wrestling with the angel he persisted in learning his adversary's name that he might master him.[165] The invocation of the name of Yahweh was enjoined for oaths as the most potent means of guaranteeing their faithful performance.[166] But, because the name of Yahweh was so powerful its use for exorcism and similar magical practices was strictly prohibited.[167] The use of the names of other dieties in exorcism, so common among other peoples, was likewise forbidden.[168] Such practices would be recognition of the power of these foreign gods, would indicate faith in their ability to help the suppliant, and hence violate the exclusive worship of Yahweh. The fact of repeated injunctions against such practices and the imposition of the death penalty for their violation is definite evidence of their prevalence in Hebrew life.[169] Laws deal with actual, existing problems, not with imaginary situations that might arise. Thus the presence of such drastic measures to prevent the use of the divine name in exorcism and similar magical practices is the protest of the official religious leaders against well established popular practices.[170] But the rites practiced were probably very simple as compared with the elaborate technique developed in later Judaism or in Gentile circles.[171]

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[161] I Sam. 5:1-6:16. In later Jewish thought, the deities of foreign peoples were often spoken of as demons. See infra, pp. 139-42.

[162] II Sam. 24:16 f.; 25.

[163] Kraeling, JBL, XLVII, (1928), p. 156, n. 81.

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[164] *See* J.A.Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, pp. 56-66 *et passim*; A.H.Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, (1887), pp. 302-7; W.Heitmuller, *Im Namen Jesu*,(Gottingen, 1903), pp. 176-80; W.Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, 2 Aufl., (Berlin, 1906), pp. 355 ff. and notes.

[165] Gen. 32:27-29; for a practical identification of the name with the individual *see* Jer. 7:12; I.Abrahams, "Name of God (Jewish)," *ERE*, IX, 177 f. Probably Jacob's antagonist was a demon in the original form of the story.

[166] Deut. 10:20.

[167] Exod. 20:7; but see Isa. 44:5.

[168] Exod. 23:13.

[169] Deut. 18:9-14; Lev. 19:26; 20:27; I Sam. 15:23; II Kings 9:22; Jer. 27:9; Micah 5:11; Isa. 47:9-14.

[170] Ps. 91:5-14 promises the righteous complete immunity

Later Jewish tradition developed extensively around Solomon as the exorcist *par excellence*. It also spoke of Hezekiah's suppression of the Solomonic "Book of Cures" because the popular dependence on them led to a neglect of the worship of Yahweh. Though these traditions are doubtless very much exaggerated they may well contain a nucleus of historical fact.[172] If so, the popular practices would have received great impetus and support from the throne. Certainly the tradition of the conflict between the Yahweh cult and the earlier magical practices is in harmony with what we have already noticed of the hold of the rites on popular favor.

3. Amulets

Amulets were another means of warding off demonic powers. Ornaments in antiquity, as among certain less advanced groups today, were worn for a dual purpose: for adornment, and to avert sickness and other calamities.[173] The earrings worn by the members of Jacob's household apparently had significance as warders-off of some kind of disaster.[174] Probably the ornaments

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to plagues, pestilences, enemies, wild animals, etc. Vs. 14 says, "I will set him on high because he knows my name." (Am. tr.) This clearly suggests the magical protective power of the name of Yahweh.

[171] There seems to be in this period no distinction between healings and exorcisms such as we noticed in Mark, *supra*, p. 6.

[172] The chief passages on which this line of tradition is based are: I Kings 4:29-34; Wisd. of Sol. 7:17-22; Josephus, Ant. viii, 2.5; The Testament of Solomon. McCown discusses critically these and other sources in *The Testament of Solomon*, (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 90-104 with citation of authorities. See also, E.Schurer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols., (2nd rev. ed., New York, 1891), III, 152-54; G.Salzberger, *Die Salomonsage in der semitischen Literatur, u.s.w.*, (Berlin, 1907.

[173] See J.Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 164 f.; W.R.Smith, *RS*, 3rd ed. by Cook, pp. 382, 448 f., 453 and n. 2.

[174] Gen. 35:4; O.C.Whitehouse, "Magic, Magician," *HDB*, III, 210b, suggests the evil eye as perhaps the danger to be kept away.

which Moses commanded his people to put away because they were an offense to Yahweh were amulets worn for a similar purpose.[175] In a vividly descriptive passage Isaiah denounces the amulets worn by the wealthy women of Jerusalem.[176] According to later tradition these included neck-chains in the form of serpents, worn to protect them against diseases produced by envy and the evil eye.[177] Perhaps the incident of the brazen serpent that averted the death-dealing demonic spirits ("fiery serpents"), under Moses' leadership, gave impetus to such apotropaic ornaments.[178] Many amulets of a variety of kinds have been discovered in recent excavations in Palestine, in strata that show their use from the very earliest times for many centuries.[179] The following example is typical.

> At Taanach the remains of a family were found, that had suddenly been crushed to death by the fall of their dwelling. A woman, wearing her amulets and ornaments, with a knife in her hand and food-vessels lying near - a mother who had been preparing the family meal - was surrounded by five children, of ages ranging from sixteen to four. Sadly futile was the little image of Ashtaroth, suspended to the wall as a luck-bringer.[180]

4. Scripture Passages

The use of passages of Scripture as phylacteries to keep away evil spirits, which was quite common in later Judaism, may well have had its origin before the exile.[181] Their use is vigorously enjoined by the Deuteronomic code and the protective interpretation is almost inevitable in their environment. The wearing of amulets among the Arabs,[182] the Midianites,[183] and other neighbors[184] of the Hebrews is clear from many sources, and it has persisted to the present time in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine.[185]

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[175] Exod. 33:5 f.

[176] Isa. 3:18-23.

[177] Berachoth 55; Shabbath 57; Chullin 77; Shebuoth 17; Elworthy, The Evil Eye; cf. Macalister, HDB, III, 332b.

[178] Num. 21:5-9; cf. W.R.Smith, RS, ed. Cook, (3rd ed.), p. 133.

[179] R.A.S.Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine, p. 292.

[180] Ibid., p. 219.

[181] Isa. 44:5; Ezek. 9:4; Deut. 6:8,9.

5. Music

Music was at times effective to drive away demons. The single known case of the exorcism of the evil spirit by David's lyre is probably typical of many similar experiences in dealing with this kind of abnormal psychical conditions.[186]

6. Blood

The use of blood for apotropaic purposes has already been discussed.[187] Undoubtedly one of the purposes for which this was employed most frequently was that of insuring physical well-being. In a few cases the offering of the blood of victims, in sacrifice seems to be an effective means for driving away the pestilence demons. In the case of the Philistines who were stricken by the presence of the Ark of the Covenant, the sacrifice was supplemented by the offering of the images of the plague-boils and of mice as bearers of the pestilence[188] - the practice of sympathetic magic. In driving away the pestilence -

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[182] W.R.Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, p. 211.
[183] Judg. 8:21.
[184] Rawlinson, WAI, II, 47; Kazwini, I, 391; cf. W.R.Smith, RS, ed. Cook, (3rd ed.), p. 449.
[185] In northern Arabia today, "Almost every woman, every child, every mare and she-camel wear shells around the neck, for these protect from the evil eye." Musil, Arabia Petraea, (1908), III, 314; quoted by A.R.S.Kennedy. Cf. C.M.Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I, 257, et al; "Charms and Amulets (Hebrew)," ERE, III, 441; P.Baldensperger, in Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund, (1899), p. 150.
[186] I. Sam. 16:14-23; cf. the incident in which a minstrel's playing was necessary to induce the spirit of prophecy in Elisha, II Kings 3:14 ff.
[187] See supra, pp.101-05 ; 167 f.; See S.I.Curtiss, Primitive Semitic Religion Today, pp. 197 f.
[188] I Sam. 5:1 - 6:18

demon that wrought destruction in David's reign, the sacrifice alone brought release from the dread disease.[189] Probably the whole field of sacrifice as practised in early Israel had more apotropaic significance than is generally recognized.

7. Forms of Social Exorcism

The offering of public sacrifice as in these two cases just considered is a form of social exorcism. Its purpose is to avert or exorcise the demons of disease from the whole community. Other striking examples of exorcism as a social phenomenon are the ritual for cleansing the leper[190] and sending the disease demon back to the wilderness, and the Azazel ceremony of the Day of Atonement.[191] In the leprosy ritual the individual of course is the subject of the cleansing, but the purpose clearly includes the freeing of the whole group from the ravages of the disease demon. The Azazel ceremony in its earlier form, before the domination of the whole situation by the Yahweh cult, was a form of community ritual to safeguard the group from the attacks of the dangerous spirits lurking in the unexplored thickets, swamps and jungle regions surrounding the habitations of man.[192]

It is significant that these forms of social exorcism are the only methods that meet the official approval of Old Testament religious leaders in the pre-exilic period. The reason for approval of this type while individual practice of exorcistic rites was bitterly denounced and penalized is to be found in the general character of Hebrew religion. The religion of the Hebrews was fundamentally a social phenomenon. It was a national faith, inextricably interwoven with the fabric of the whole social order. To be religious was to be a member in good standing in the social group, to observe faithfully the established customs and mores that characterized Israel as a people. Yahweh was the god of the nation, not of the individuals within the nation as seperate units. Conformity to the social practices of the nation meant loyalty to Yahweh, nonconformity meant apostasy. Hence all practices must be socially approved, must be in harmony with established social and religious custom, in order to bring the divine approval so necessary to a successful national life. Nonconformity must be crushed out for the sake of the group as a whole. Those religious practices which were essential to the well-being of the whole social order were perpetuated and safeguarded by being placed under the supervision of the official religious leaders, the priests. In accordance with this fundamental principle operative in Hebrew religion - this primary form of social control - only those forms of exorcistic practice that were under official priestly control were sanctioned as in harmony with the true religion of Yahweh. And in spite of all changes that come in later Judaism, the persistence of this characteristic is a striking feature of Jewish exorcism for centuries .

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[189] II Sam 24:16 f., 25; cf. Num. 16:44-48 where a plague is stopped by the burning of incense in the censer by Aaron, the high priest, to turn away Yahweh's anger. Can the early form of this be based on the idea that demons could be expelled by certain fumes? Cf. Tobit 6:7, 16 f.; 8:2 f.

[190] Lev. 14.

[191] Lev. 16. The present form of both these ceremonies is late, but they clearly represent practices of long standing in Hebrew life.

[192] See, supra p.94ff; W.R.Smith, RS, ed. Cook (3rd ed.), pp. 119-22.

F. Summary

Our study of demonology and exorcism in pre-exilic Hebrew life has brought out the following facts:

(1) There are but slight traces of the presence and activity of evil spirits recognized by the official Yahweh cult.[193] Those which are mentioned are brought directly under the control of Yahweh as his representatives.

(2) But the popular religion of the Hebrew people was permeated by ever present fear of demons that lurked everywhere to do them harm, and must be driven away by efficacious practices. These evil powers were intimately associated with all the vital experiences of the people.

(3) Attempts have been made by the writers of the Old Testament records to supress such beliefs and practices in the effort to crush them out, but many evidences of their prevalence and power are visible under the surface of the accounts.

(4) Activity of demonic spirits is supported by evidence from Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, Egypt; in Syrian and Canaanite practices of antiquity; by excavations in these regions; and by present-day practices in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, in addition to the records of the Old Testament.

(5) There is no attempt in our records at a careful description of these demonic forces, or a clear-cut classification of them. For the most part the spirits are vague and undefined but potent for harm. The development of a system of demonology comes with later national experiences and the growth of a greater theological interest. The interest in this period in the practical one of insuring safety against harmful environing forces.

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[193] From this point of view scholars such as Barton, "Demons and Spirits (Hebrew)," ERE, IV, 594-96; Fairweather, "Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period," HDB, Ext. 288: et al. are right in finding but little demonology in pre-exilic Hebrew religion. But their assumption that the official religion of Yahweh was the real religion of the populace is untenable; cf. E.G.Kraeling, "The Real Religion of Ancient Israel," JBL, (1928), XLVII, 133-59.

(6) For the most part the demons have not been definitely personalized. They partake apparently of the nature of the jinn of Arabic lore, being strongly bound together by a social solidarity that includes the whole group. Like the human society in which they operate their unity is strengthened by the bond of blood revenge, and it is largely this fact which makes this malicious horde so dreaded.

(7) The Hebrew belief in demonic forces operative in their life and their methods of adjusting themselves to their activities are to be understood in the light of their tribal experiences and general Semitic racial heritage for millenniums, rather than in terms of direct borrowing of a system of thought from any group. There were certain experiences of their daily environment which were fraught with possibilities of injury to them, and means must be provided for securing protection against these hostile forces.

(8) In a pre-scientific age, with a lack of knowledge of the causes of these harmful experiences, and with no scientific technique of control over these physical forces of their environment, it was inevitable that they should interpret them as social objects, (i.e., as more or less personalized forces), and act toward them accordingly.

(9) The practices here characterized as "exorcism" include rites perfromed for a two-fold purpose: (1) to avert or ward off the dreaded demons from the individual and the social group; (2) to expel the demons after they had attacked their victims.

(10) Various methods of exorcism were used, but in general they may be characterized as either individual or social. The first had to do particularly with averting or expelling ills

from an individual while the second was for the purpose of protecting the whole social order and was performed as public ritual. But this distinction cannot be made too rigid as the individual was so intimately bound up with the group and what harmed him would also injure the group as a whole.

(11) The attitude of the official leaders of the Yahweh cult toward the individual practices of exorcism was one of bitter hostility because they involved recognition of other deities and superhuman forces independent of Yahweh, and naturally they wished to bring everything under his jurisdiction.

(12) Practices of exorcism which were social in character and were too deeply rooted in popular custom to be eliminated were taken over by the priestly system, "baptized" into the name of Yahweh and continued under official control as rites to the national deity.

CHAPTER V

THE FUNCTIONS OF DEMONS IN POST-EXILIC AND TANNAITIC JUDAISM

We have seen how vitally the fear of demons was inwrought into the whole fabric of pre-exilic Hebrew life, and the various forms of individual and social practices to avert their harmful influences. We shall next turn to a consideration of the significance of demonic forces among the Jews under the new conditions of life in post-exilic times, particularly the New Testament period. During the centuries which elapsed from the Exile to the beginning of the Christian era Jewish life was undergoing profound changes. These changes naturally brought many modifications of thought and practice, including their technique of adaptation to the unseen hostile forces that permeated their environment. Here as in the earlier period our interest is in the significance of demons and exorcism in relation to actual life situations rather than as a theological system. We wish to see what differences demons made in the everyday attitudes and practices of the Jewish people. Our study will center around the following life interests:[1]

(1) Political relationships, particularly as concerned with international contacts;

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[1] Changes in the classification of life interests from that of the preceding chapter have been made for the following reasons: (a) Geographical and climatic environment is omitted because of the very few changes undergone in these aspects of life, (b) Economic and occupational interests will come under either social or international experiences with which they are very closely associated, (c) Inter-tribal contacts are added. They were of great importance also in the earlier period, but for the sake of brevity were there considered under other closely related themes.

(2) Disease and death, with related problems of physical well-being;

(3) Social relationships within the nation, including a wide range of experiences.

A. Demons in Relation to Political Life and International Relations

The relationships of the Jews with other races and nations were many and varied. The whole period following the Exile was one of almost continuous readjustment to new peoples and cultures and marks tremendous changes in Jewish life. These contacts may be summarized briefly under seven major experiences:

(1) The intermingling of races and cultures in the northern territory upon the incoming of Assyrian colonists, following the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C.

(2) The capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar and the adjustments of the Jews to the conditions of life in Babylonia during the exilic period.

(3) The conquest of the Babylonian Empire by Cyrus and the resulting contact of the Jews with Persian civilization. The tolerant attitude of the Persian government was particularly favorable to the fusion of the respective cultures.

(4) The resettlement in Palestine in the post-exilic period brought problems of contact with many non-Jewish racial groups that had settled there in the meantime.

(5) The world conquest by Alexander the Great led to extensive and intimate contacts of Judaism and Hellenistic culture which continued for centuries. These relationships are determinative of many developments of both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism.

(6) The Maccabean conflict, a struggle involving a complex

of aspects: social, religious, cultural, and political.

(7) The Roman conquest and rule of Palestine, culminating in the Jewish revolt and the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Jewish state by the army of Titus in 70 A.D.

Out of these major inter-racial and international contacts, each of which was an extended and complex experience, developed significant changes in Jewish ideas and attitudes. These changes with regard to the functions of demons find expression chiefly in four ways.

1. The deities of the Gentile cults came to be identified with demons as a grave menace to Jewish national welfare.

2. Responsibility for moral and physical evils was shifted from Yahweh to the master-demon, Satan. With this growth of a dualistic system there developed the belief in a hierarchy of evil powers which paralleled more or less closely the heavenly hosts of Yahweh.

3. Repeated conflicts with Gentile powers developed the attitude of these governments and rulers as representatives of Satan and his hosts, or even as incarnations of demonic power.

4. Thus Satan came to be regarded as the arch-enemy of the nation, who continued to frustrate the age-long Jewish hopes for political autonomy. He and his demonic hosts were therefore the chief obstacles to the realization of the new Messianic Age, and their conquest was one of the chief functions of the Messiah. With this problem was associated the work of the Antichrist.

The chief aspects of these developments will be considered in order.

I. Foreign Gods as Demons

There were several phases of the contact of the Jews with other peoples that led to the assimilation of foreign cultures.

The more advanced character of the civilizations of Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome furnished a powerful incentive to such borrowing by the more alert among the Jews, while the economic dependence upon their conquerors (particularly in the Exile) made this adoption of alien practices almost inevitable. Because religious practices were so thoroughly intermingled with all other aspects of ancient civilizations, the assimilation of foreign cult rites became widespread in Jewish circles as a means of insuring the necessities of life. In some cases this was accentuated by the belief in the superior power of the foreign deities and their ability to furnish greater supernatural guarantees in the midst of a new environment than could Yahweh the defeated deity of a captive people.[2] The worship of foreign deities became so widespread as to present a serious menace to the unity of Judaism. Defection from the religion of Yahweh meant a weakening of the morale of the whole social group. But what was of far graver consequence was that it endangered their national safety because it strained their covenant relationship with Yahweh. In spite of the attempts of Ezekiel to instil into his people the sense of personal responsibility, Judaism continued to be a national religion cemented by the bonds of a thorough going social solidarity. In fact Ezekiel himself, in spite of his individualism, did much to consolidate this group consciousness and unity of Judaism by his rigid exclusiveness, and his emphasis on the cultic and legalistic phases of religion. It is significant also that Jeremiah's new covenant is to be between "the household of Israel and the household of Judah" (31:31 f.) and not with individuals. The continued welfare of the group depended upon the faithful observance of the established social and religious mores which had become identified with the will of the national deity. Only through a strict loyalty to these accepted customs could they be assured of the divine approval and support so essential to a satisfactory existence.

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[2] Jer. 44:15-30 gives a vivid picture of this attitude.

Any factor that destroyed the social solidarity of the group thus became a grave menace to their welfare. The performance of cult rites of other deities than Yahweh was one of the chief disintegrating forces at work in Judaism. From pre-exilic times it had been denounced by prophetic leaders as a national peril, and later it was frequently cited as one of the chief causes for the national catastrophe of the Exile.[3] It was because these alien deities constituted so serious a barrier to Jewish welfare that they first came to be regarded as demons. They could not be dismissed as non-realities, nor their power denied.[4] In a social order that was supernaturally controlled all such powers must be recognized as real and dealt with accordingly. But they brought harm and destruction to Jewish life, hence they must be regarded as demonic and guarded against as such.

This attitude finds expression as early as Deuteronomy, and continues through post-exilic Old Testament writings, the intertestamental literature and the New Testament.[5] As political conflicts develop with Gentile powers the attitude becomes intensified. The gods are looked upon as largely responsible for the harsh treatment and even persecution which the Jews are forced to endure, hence they become more markedly demonic in character. This attitude toward foreign gods as demonic forces is reflected most extensively in Palestinian Judaism, but also finds some expression in Hellenistic Jewish circles.[6] With the development of monotheism and the growth of a stronger theological interest in late Judaism we find attempts to explain the origin of this idolatry or demon worship. As we might expect the practices are traced to a demonic source. In I Enoch 19:1 f, and Jubilees 11:4 f.; 15:31 responsibility is placed upon the fallen angels who rebelled against God and now lead men to worship demons, offering sacrifices to them as gods. Another interpretation of I Enoch puts the burden upon the demons who were the souls of the giant race that sprang from the union of the fallen angels with the daughters of men.[7] Both are demonic in character. But there is little interest in describing the nature of these demonic deities that have commanded the worship of men. Their purpose in mentioning them is to warn against the practical dangers in store for the Jew who has contacts with them, and thus to keep the whole nation loyal to her own deity, thereby insuring her happiness and prosperity.

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[3] Isa. 2:6; 10:10 f.; 17:7-11; Jer. 1:15 f.; 2:9-13,25-28; 7:5-15; 11:12 f.; 44:4-6; Ezek. 8; Hosea 8:1-14; 10:1-8. These are typical of a long list that might be cited.

[4] Deutero-Isaiah's ridicule of idols and alien gods as nonentities (e.g., 40:18-26; 41:6 f.,21-29; 44:9-20) seems to find little support for a long time.

[5] Deut. 32:16 f.; Ps. 96:5 (LXX); 106:37; Isa. 65:11; Zech. 13:2; I En. 99:7; Test Naph. 3:3; I Bar. 4:7,35; I Cor. 10:20; Rev. 9:20. Cf. Mart. Isa. 2:4; Jub. 15:31 f.

II. Satan as the Arch-Demon Responsible for Man's Sin and Suffering, and the Head of a Hierarchy of Evil Powers Opposed to God

1. In Post-Exilic Old Testament Literature

As in the previous attitude just discussed this belief in a supreme spirit of evil developed slowly, and like it continued for a considerable period as the attitude of the religious leaders rather than of the populace. Our study in the preceding chapter has shown the gap that existed between the Yahweh cult leaders and the rank and file of the people. The physical and moral ills of life which by the people were attributed to demonic agencies were looked upon by prophetic teachers as sent by Yahweh. In some cases where the belief in demonic activity was so strong as to demand recognition by religious leaders the demons were by them placed under Yahweh's direct supervision.[8] Thus the national deity was responsible for both good and evil in its manifold expressions in human experience.[9] But the enlarged outlook that accompanied the exilic and post-exilic experiences demanded a re-interpretation of these familiar facts. The development of successive great world empires under a single mighty sovereign brought a significant change in their religious outlook. Monotheism in religion was inevitable for a world living as a great political unity. For the Jewish leaders Yahweh became freed from national limitations, assuming the role of supreme and only real deity for the whole earth. The higher ethical standards for Yahweh,[10] which constituted a significant phase of this development, demanded a shifting of responsibility for moral evils from his shoulders. Their keener ethical consciousness revolted against making Yahweh the source of the lying spirit that sent a king to his doom,[11] or as tricking another ruler into committing sin and then punishing him for it by a devastating plague upon the nation.[12] Satan, the chief power of evil, must now assume such responsibilities.

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[6] See for example the LXX of Ps. 96:5; cf. K. Müller, "Das Reich Gottes und die Dämonen in der alten Kirche," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XCIII (1898), 3.

[7] I En. 15:12-16:2. *See also* in Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus* (Göttingen, 1909), 72 f.; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentliche Zeitalter*, II (Berlin, 1906), 289, 382; Charles, *APOT*, II, *loc. cit*. on I En.

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[8] I Sam. 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9; I Kings 22:19-23; Judg.9:23.

[9] In addition to passages in note 8, see I Sam. 1:5; 26:19; II Sam. 24:1; Isa. 6:10 ff.; 63:17; Amos 3:6.

[10] The stress of the pre-exilic and later prophets upon the ethical character of their deity now bore fruit.

[11] I Kings 22:19-23.

But it was only after a long process of development that Satan came to be set over against God as the personification and source of evil. Only the first steps of this process are found in the Old Testament, additional elements find expression in the intertestamental literature, while the developed system is attained in the New Testament and the Talmudic writings. But some of the steps are obscure, as are some of the forces which determined the trends taken.

Our study in the preceding chapter has shown clearly the operation of evil forces in the daily experience of pre-exilic Israel. From this field of demonic activity are several elements that approached a personalization of evil spirits, which furnished roots from which grew some of the Satanology[13] of later Judaism. The cosmic spirits of evil, Leviathan, Behemoth, and Rahab are personalized demons that had opposed Yahweh's creative activity.[14] The demon incarnated in the serpent that seduced Eve, represents a phase of demonology that finds clear expression in the Satanic function as tempter to evil.[15] The evil spirit that possessed Saul is set over in opposition to the Spirit of Yahweh.[16] The lying spirit sent to deceive Ahab,[17] and the pestilence demon that ravaged David's kingdom[18] are both superhuman agencies of evil, though not the ultimate source of the moral and physical ills that they bear. Azazel has become the chief of the theriomorphic demons of the desolate wilderness regions, a sort of embryonic Satan in his own realm.[19] The union of the "sons of God" with the daughters of men in Genesis 6:1-4 is implied as a cause of the increasing evils among men.[20] This gives a supernatural origin for much of man's sin, though the elaborate mythologies that later grew up about these "fallen angels" are but dimly hinted at in this account. In none of these cases of demonic activity, however, do we find direct mention of Satan or a suggestion that he is to be identified with any of them.

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[12] II Sam. 24:1.

[13] As will be seen in the discussion which follows, some of the most important aspects of Jewish satanology are not indigenous growths, but were grafted on to the Jewish tree as the result of contacts with other peoples.

[14] Isa. 27:1; 51:9 f.; Jer. 51:34,36,42; Amos 9:2 ff.; Job 26:12 f.; cf. 7:12; 40:15-24; Ps. 74:12-19; 89:10; Ezek. 29:3-6; 32:2-8. Cf. R.H. Charles, Revelation, in ICC, (Edinburgh, 1920), I.317 ff. and literature there cited.

[15] Gen. 3:1-5; see O.C. Whitehouse, "Satan," HDB, IV,407 f.

[16] I Sam. 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9. [17] I Kings 22:19-23.

[18] II Sam. 24:1; cf. Ps. 91:6. Similarly the passover "destroyer" Ex. 12:23,29.

The term Satan (Hebrew שָׂטָן) is used a few times in pre-exilic writings with its fundamental meaning of "opponent" or "adversary," without reference to the prince of evil. In II Samuel 19:22 we read that the sons of Zeruiah were "satans" to David, and similarly in I Samuel 29:4 David is called a "satan" to the Philistines. Numbers 22:22,32 speaks of the angel of Yahweh as a "satan" that opposed Balaam by getting in his path and blocking the way to his desired action, an idea which seems inherent in the root meaning of the word.[21] In I Kings 11:14 the term is applied to Hadad the Edomite whom Yahweh raised up as a "satan" i.e., an adversary to oppose his political ambitions.[22]

The post-exilic Old Testament references to Satan are likewise limited but show clear-cut development in the direction of the arch-fiend. In the pre-exilic period the term was applied, with one exception,[23] to a human being and without any indication of evil character in the one so designated. But new functions emerge in the later records. Here Satan is a superhuman figure whose task is to bring evil to the individual or the race.[24] In Zechariah 3:1 ff. he appears as the accuser of Joshua the high priest, the official representative of Jerusalem. He wishes to bring further punishment upon the city. In this he is acting against the will of Yahweh and suffers the severe rebuke of His angel. There is no indication, however, that he desires to go beyond strict justice in his proposed punishment of the city: the implication is that the angel represents the attitude of Yahweh as one of mercy rather than mere justice. In the prologue to the book of Job the Satan is also a member of the heavenly host. His task is that of ranging the earth and "checking up" on the moral status of the human race, particularly its shortcomings. Like the rest of the servants of Yahweh he brings his reports to the deity. But he is here presented as taking keen delight in discovering men's sins and in casting aspersions on their motives even when no outward act can be condemned. Hence we see his malicious purpose in smiting Job with grievous calamities and sufferings to lead him into sin against God. He thus fills the double role of accuser and tempter of men. I Chronicles 21:1 marks another step in his evolution. Here for the first time the term Satan becomes a personal name. This is its initial use without the article.[25] Satan is now a real personality. He is here pictured as the enemy of Israel, who tempted David to sin in taking a census of his subjects, a deed which was punished by a deadly plague. Even more clearly than in Job, he is here the tempter of men, the superhuman evil power responsible for sin. But there is as yet no suggestion of his being wholly independent of Yahweh, much less the head of the hierarchy of evil powers opposed to the heavenly hosts of Yahweh in a thorough going dualistic system. As Fairweather suggests he is in a transitional stage between an angel of Yahweh and the demonic leader of the hosts of evil.[26]

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[19] Lev. 16; cf. K. Kohler, "Demonology," JE, IV, 515; S.R. Driver, "Azazel," HDB, I, 207 f.

[20] So Whitehouse, in his article "Satan," in HDB, IV, 407 f., suggests a similar list of "roots of belief in Satan" to that here suggested.

[21] The blocking of the way may be interpreted figuratively, as in the cases of David above cited, or literally as in Balaam's case.

[22] Cf. L. Blau, "Satan," JE, XI, 68b for a good discussion of Satan in the O.T.

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[23] Num. 22:22,32 applies it to an angel but there is no thought of him as a representative of evil. He is the messenger of Yahweh sent to oppose Balaam's rebellious course of action.

[24] There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether the term "satan" in Psalm 109:6 refers to a human accuser at court or the superhuman adversary. If the latter, his function closely parallels that in Zechariah 3:1 ff.

In the book of Daniel we find "a pronounced moral dualism" but one which is strictly limited.

> It presents the conflict between the ingrained evil of the kingdoms of this world and the divine imperium. This has its archetype in the heavens, where a primal conflict is being waged among the divine satraps, wherein the divine viceroy Gabriel can count only upon the loyalty of Michael the Prince of Israel....There is here no speculation on the origin of evil, the Princes are not regarded as fallen angels....And it is significant that no Prince of Evil is devised, a Satan or a Belial....[27]

But the antithesis between good and evil is clear-cut and incisive with a marked trend toward interpreting the leader of the earthly hostile power as the Antichrist.[28]

2. Satan in the Inter-testamental Literature

The next significant development is reflected in I Enoch. It gives the most elaborate system of demonology to date, marking decided advances in Jewish dualism. It embraces three classes of evil forces, (1) Satan, (2) the fallen angels, (3) the demons. Satan is here the ruler of the kingdom of evil, a kingdom in bitter conflict with the divine power, yet subject to the Lord of Spirits. The Satans are under the control of Satan, their guilt consisting in their having become subject to him.[29] Gadreel, one of their number, tempted Eve to sin.[30] The Satans still have the privilege of appearing in heaven but angels there prevent their coming before the Lord of Spirits.[31] They exercise a threefold function: tempt to evil,[32] accuse the fallen,[33] punish the condemned.[34]

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[25] Ps. 109:6 is an exception, if the term is here applied to the demonic chief, and if it antedates I Chron. 21.

[26] W. Fairweather, "Development of Doctrine," HDB, Ext. Vol., p. 288b.

[27] J.A. Montgomery, Daniel, ICC (New York, 1927), p. 82 f.

[28] For this development see infra pp.522-27.

The fallen angels or Watchers are sometimes identified with the Satans, but elsewhere distinguished. Both were originally angels of the heavenly host, and both fell into sin when they subjected themselves to Satan (Satanail, II En. 18:3 f.). Satan, probably impelled by the ambition to rival the power of God,[35] led some of the angels or Watchers in a revolt against Him.[36] Perhaps these were the angels of the higher order, though this is not explicitly stated. But by submitting to the rebel Satan these angels became satans, hostile to the divine will. Their rebellion took place before the creation of man. Then, upon the creation of the first man and woman, Gadreel one of the satans led Eve astray. At a later period, in the time of Jared, other angels or Watchers (possibly, though not certainly, of a lower rank) enamored by the charms of the "daughters of men" came to earth and formed unions with them. In some way not made clear (but cf. II Enoch 18:3; 29:4 f.) Satan seems to have been responsible for this sinful procedure also. The leader of these fallen angels in some passages is Azazel,[37] in others Semjaza.[38] The fallen angels have been imprisoned in darkness ever since their fall. The satans, however, are still free to carry on their threefold activity.[39]

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[29] En. 54:6; 69:5; but cf. I En. 98:4 which attributes the origin of sin to human initiative. This, however, is an isolated instance

[30] I En. 69:6.

[31] I En. 40:7.

[32] I En. 69:4,6.

[33] I En. 40:7.

[34] En.53:3;56:1. Cf. Charles, APOT, II, 185, Introduction to I En., also notes, *loc. cit.*

[35] Cf. II En. 29:4 f. and Charles's note.

[36] The following account is an attempt to reconstruct the myths into a more consistent whole than the book in its present form gives us. But it is only provisional because of the gaps and inconsistencies in the record. For more thorough treatment see R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford, 1912), also I Enoch in APOT, on chief passages cited.

The demons are the spirits of the giants who were the offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. They are abroad in the earth as disembodied spirits bringing moral destruction upon mankind, and will continue their demonic attacks until the final judgment.

> And now the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from MEN and from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called....And the spirits of the giants AFFLICT, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.
>
> From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement - thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgement in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated.[40]

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[37] I En. 10:8; 55:4. For Azazel and Semjaza in the Talmud *see* Charles, *APOT*, II, 193.

[38] I En. 6:3; 9:7.

[39] For the account of the satans and the fallen angels *see* especially I En. chs. 6-16; 40:7 ff; chs. 53-56; 69 and notes *loc. cit.*, in Charles, *APOT*, II; cf. note on II En. 18:3, p. 439 f.; also p. 185 of Intro.; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, *loc. cit.* and Intro., p. CV; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, pp. 287-294, 355, 384; G.A. Barton, "Demons and Spirits (Hebrew)," *ERE*, IV.600 f. and source cited..

[40] I En. 15:8 f., 11f., 16:1; Charles, *APOT*, II, 198.

At the final judgment the leader of the hosts of evil, his associates and their children the demons are to be cast "into the chasm of the abyss of the valley" there to be imprisoned forever.[41]

This author has thus included practically all the elements of the combined characterizations of Satan and the demonic forces thus far noted, with the following additions: (1) a more definite dualism, with the counter-kingdom of evil (the satans and demons)[42] under Satan's leadership, though still subordinate to the deity, (2) a big step toward the identification of Satan with the serpent that led Eve into sin, (3) development of the legend of the fallen angels, with Satan responsible for their moral perversion, (4) the function of the satans as angels of punishment.

Variant names are often given the demonic chief. In numerous passages in Jubilees we find Mastema represented as the chief of evil spirits, as identical with Satan, and as responsible for various deeds of evil in Hebrew history which had earlier been ascribed to Yahweh.[43] But he nowhere clearly emerges into the prince of the powers of unrighteousness, reigning ower the counter-kingdom of evil that can rival the divine power in its control over human life. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah the leader of the hosts of evil, responsible for the sins of men, is named Beliar.[44]

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[41] I En. 55:3-56:4; 21:10.

[42] The fallen angels should also be included, but they are imprisoned under the earth so as to be incapacitated for all harmful activities. The others are all operative. For Satan the head of the kingdom of evil, cf. Test. Dan 6:1-4; Assum. of Moses 10:1; Asc. Isa. 10:29; cf. 7:9; 11:23.

[43] Jub. 10:5-11; 18:12; 19:28; 23:29; 48:2,9-12,15; 49:2. Cf. F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (2 ed., Leipzig, 1897), p. 252 f.

[44] Test. Jud. 19; Dan 1:6; Isa. 4; Gad. 4:6; 5:1 ff. For an extended list of passages *see* Charles, *APOT*, II, 841 (Index) on "Belial" and "Beliar," with references to other sources also; cf. Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 2 ed., p. 385 and n. 1. For the relation of Beliar and Sammael his subordinate *see* Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London, 1900), pp. 7 f.

In II Enoch the chief of the Satans who revolted against God in heaven is known as Satanail.[45] In III Baruch Sammael, originally an archangel, deceived men through a vine which he planted, thus becoming the devil, the chief of the satans and the enemy of men.[46]

Most of the developments above considered took place within Palestinian Judaism.[47] But the demonology of the Hellenistic Jews grew along similar lines. In the Wisdom of Solomon we read: "...God created man for incorruption, And made him an image of his own proper being. But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world."[48] This presents a striking antithesis: life the gift of God versus death the curse of Satan.[49] It clearly implies that Satan is an independent rival of God, and the superhuman author of sin from which comes death.[50] He is also identified with the serpent of the Garden of Eden story.[51]

The lines of demonological speculation in II Enoch parallel in most essentials those of I Enoch. Charles gives the following concise summary of its outstanding aspects:

> It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (18:4; 29:4), seduced the Watchers of the fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, 29:4.

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[45] II En. 18:1-4; 29:4 f.; cf. note on 18:3 in *APOT*, II. 439 f.; cf. 31:4 f. where the form Satomail is used.

[46] III Bar. 4:8; 9:7 and note on 4:8, in *APOT*, II.535 f., by Hughes, cf. Charles, *APOT*, II.159 f., note on Mart. Isa. 1:8; cf. 2:1, on Sammael Malchira.

[47] II Enoch and III Bar. are the exceptions.

[48] Wisd. 2:23 f.; Holmes' tr. in *APOT*, I.538.

[49] The Greek ὁ διάβολος is generally accepted as the equivalent of the Hebrew השטן; cf. Latin Life of Adam and Eve 9:1 f.; 10:3 f.; chs. 12-16; *APOT*, II.136 f., by Wells; Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of N.T.* (2 ed., New York, 1889), διάβολος

[50] *See* II En. 30:16-18 and especially Charles note on 16, *APOT*, II.450; II Bar. 23:4 and note, *op. cit.*, II.495.

[51] For an interpretation which sees in Wisd. 2:24 a reference to Cain's murder of Abel, *see* Charles, *Rev.*, in *ICC*, I.326; Holmes, *loc. cit.*, (who reject it) and literature there cited.

> Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, 29:5; 31:4, and given the air for their habitation, 29:5. As for his followers, the Watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, 7:3; 18:4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, 18:4. From these were born giants, 18:5. Thereupon these Watchers were imprisoned under the earth, 18:6,7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan envied him and wished to make another world, 31:3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, 31:6.[52]

This book reflects a tendency toward more elaboration of speculative features regarding the satans, puts more stress upon the inordinate ambition of Satan in revolting against God, and his envy of man's exalted status, and gives somewhat less attention to the practical functions of the demons in his own time.

The great writers of Diaspora Judaism in the first century of the Christian era, Philo and Josephus, both fail to mention Satan in their extant works. The former makes a single reference to evil spirits that arouse impure desires in man[53] but apparently has little sympathy with the popular beliefs. Josephus, however, in several passages indicates a more favorable attitude toward current ideas about demons, stating that he has even seen the successful practice of exorcism.[54]

3. Satan in the New Testament

The attitudes toward Satan and demons presented in the New Testament may be taken as representing for the most part the Jewish outlook of the time.[55] Not only are there earlier Jewish sources for portions of some of the books which are most permeated with demonology,[56] but the parallels between the New Testament attitudes and those of the intertestamental writings just studied are very close. In fact the early Christian writings represent the logical steps in demonological development along the lines laid down in the earlier Jewish documents. This is what we should expect when we consider the far-reaching influence of inherited beliefs and social attitudes of the Jewish environment upon the early Christians, even out in the Diaspora.

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[52] Charles, in *APOT*, II.447, note on II Enoch 29:5.

[53] Philo, *De Gig*. 4.

[54] Josephus, *Wars* vii.6.3; Ant. vii.2.5. See *infra* pp. 210 f. for a fuller discussion.

[55] For Jewish attitudes toward exorcism *see* ch. VI.

[56] The Little Apocalypse of Mark 13 (and parallels in Matt.

Satan, often called the devil or Beelzebub,[57] exercises the three functions of tempting to sin,[58] accusing those who have fallen,[59] and punishing impenitent sinners,[60] as did the satans of I Enoch. He is the ruler of the counter-kingdom of evil,[61] and is more independent of the divine kingdom than in the intertestamental writings. He is in fact so powerful as to be called the ruler of this present evil age, and the prince of this world.[62] He claims to exercise control over the kingdoms of this world, delegating to his chosen servants the authority to rule them.[63] Although he is sometimes referred to as "prince of the powers of the air," suggesting the legend in II Enoch about his abode in the upper atmospheric regions, there is comparatively little interest shown in the more speculative aspects of his career.[64] Full responsibility for the sin of the angels, for man's original sin, and for death which it entailed, are placed upon Satan.[65]

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and Luke) and large sections of the Apocalypse of John are the most striking examples. See Charles, Rev., in ICC, I.158 ff., 307-14 and commentary on passages there listed; also standard commentaries on Mark and II Thess.

[57] Mark 3:22; Matt. 9:34; 12:24; Luke 11:15.

[58] Matt. 4:1-12; Mark 1:12 f.; Luke 4:1-13; 22:31.

[59] Rev. 12:10

[60] I Cor. 5:5.

[61] Matt. 12:26; Luke 11:18.

[62] John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; Mark 16:14 ff. in Freer MS (W); I John 5:19; cf. Gal. 1:4; I Cor. 2:6,8; II Cor. 4:6; 6:15; Asc. Isa. 9:14.

[63] Matt. 4:8 f.; Luke 4:6 f.

[64] Eph. 2:1 f.,12; 6:12; cf. Rom. 8:38 f.; II En. 29:4 f. and Charles' note, APOT, II.447.

[65] II Cor. 11:3; Rev. 12:4; Rom. 5:12; I Cor. 15:21 f.; Cf.

Many of the activities of the demons, the subordinates of Satan's kingdom, in bringing a multiplicity of evils upon men have already been considered.[66] Other phases of their doings, such as inciting opposition and even persecution against the Christians, leading the faithful astray through false doctrine, *et. al.*, are distinctively Christian and do not belong to a consideration of Jewish demonology. But those we have here considered are as representative of Jewish as of Christian thought.

4. Satan in Talmudic Literature

In the Talmud and Midrash there are comparatively few references to Satan, especially in the older or tannaitic portions.[67] This seems to be due to several reasons: (1) Rabbinic reluctance to recognize and encourage popular beliefs and practices which seemed to endanger strict monotheism; (2) The more practical consideration that demoralization or even disintegration of Jewish group (national) solidarity would result as Yahweh's punishment for too great recognition of rival superhuman powers by the people and leaders.

But in spite of the meagerness of material, that which we find furnishes important evidence on the reality and the potency of Satan and his hosts in actual Jewish experience. There is an increasing prominence of Satan and his demonic forces after about 200 A.D. This seems to represent a growing official recognition of long-prevalent popular attitudes and practices too strong to be longer suppressed. In fact the chief of the evil spirits is of greater comparative significance even for the rabbis

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Heb. 2:14 f. Cf. Blau, "Satan," *JE*, XI, 69b for names, titles and functions of Satan in the New Testament.

[66] *See supra*, pp. 82-125.

[67] Cf. Blau, "Satan," *JE*, XI, 68 ff.; Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 3d ed., p. 253.

than the infrequent references would suggest. He is mentioned under several names, has the ability of assuming many different forms,[68] and is assigned a variety of functions.

As Samael, the lord of the satans, he was originally a powerful prince of the angels in heaven, having been created with woman.[69] Through the serpent he tempted Eve and brought about her downfall.[70] From that time he has been a fallen angel, an enemy and seducer of mankind.[71] Azazel[72] is likewise assigned this function of inciting men and women to sexual impurity, as is also Asmodeus; but the identification with Satan is somewhat questionable, especially in the latter case.[73] In this role, as in other lines of his activity, Satan leads man to sin by kindling the evil impulse (Yeser hara) within him.[74]

He also retains his function as accuser and slanderer of men, especially of Israel. According to Pesikta,[75] he accuses the Jews every day in the year except the Day of Atonement, when they are exempt from his attacks. His molestations involve a host of social, family and economic relationships in everyday experience.[76] One must be on the alert constantly to escape his onslaughts.

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[68] Of a bird, Sanh. 107a; a stag, Sanh. 95a; a woman, Kid. 81a; a beggar, Kid.; a young man, Tan. Wayera, end; cf. Blau, "Satan," *JE*, XI, 69 f. for further details.

[69] Gen. R. 19; cf. Hughes, *APOT*, II, 535 (sometimes Sammael).

[70] Pirke de R. Eliezer, ch. 13; Jalkut Sehim., Beresch 25; Beresch, rabba, ch. 56; Ber. R. 18,19; Weber, *Jud. Theologie*, 2 ed., 253; Whitehouse, "Satan," *HDB*, IV, 409b.

[71] For famous instances in Hebrew history, *see* Blau, "Satan," *JE*, XI, 68 ff.

[72] *See* Tanna d.b. R. Yishma el, quoted in Enc. Bibl., II, 366; Thompson, *Semitic Magic* (London, 1908), p. 75; Charles, *APOT*, II, 193.

[73] Blau, *loc. cit.*, p. 69a regards the Asmodeus-Satan identity as certain.

[74] Sifre Dt. 218; Ex. R. 20.

[75] Buber's ed. f. 176a; cf. Yoma 20a; Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), I, 407, and ns 1 and 2; Beresch. rabba, c. 91. In Sanh. 89b and Ber. R. 56 Sammael is used.

[76] *See* Blau, *loc. cit.*, p. 70b for sources; cf. *infra* pp. 126-30.

A number of passages present him as the angel of death, responsible for man's last great calamity.[77] In this role he seems to have occupied an important place in men's thoughts, in Jewish as well as Christian circles.[78]

Closely associated with the experiences of temptation, sin and death is the distinctively Jewish emphasis upon the evil impulse (yeser hara).

> It is...primarily as the subjective origin of temptation, or more correctly as the tempter within, that the yeser hara is represented in Jewish literature. Since it compasses man's undoing by leading him into sin, it is thought of as maliciously seeking his ruin - a kind of malevolent second personality. Throughout his life, from infancy to old age, it pursues its deadly purpose, patiently biding its time.... It is man's implacable enemy.[79] Only in the world to come will it be extirpated by God.[80] There is no kind of sin to which it does not instigate men; it leads them not only to trangress the commandments of God but to cavil at them.[81] Hence it is not strange that in parallel passages in the Midrash 'evil impulse' may be found in one and 'sin' in another, with the same things said about them.[82] ....Personified as the tempter, evil impulse may be identified with Satan; and since by their arts they cause the death of the sinner, they can by a further association become the angel of death. Thus R. Simeon ben Lakish could say: Satan and evil impulse and the angel of death are the same.[83] ...It is nothing strange, therefore, that in parallel passages Satan and evil impulse interchange,[84] as elsewhere do evil impulse and sin. It is a similar personification when it is asserted that on the judgment day God will slaughter the evil impulse before the eyes of righteous and wicked.[85] The usual expression, however, is impersonal: in the world to come God will eradicate it or

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[77] Abod. Zar. 20b; Deb. R. 11; Baba Bathra 16a; cf. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 8th ed. (New York, 1903-04), II, 758 f.; Moore, op. cit., I, 410; Charles, APOT, I, 402. Note on Sir. 25:24.

[78] Cf. n. 2, pp 10 f. supra.

[79] Tanhuma, ed. Buber, Beshallah, sec. 3; ibid., Wayyigash, sec. 1.

[80] Ezek. 36:26; see infra pp. 166-73.

[81] Pesikta, ed. Buber f. 38b-39a; cf. Yoma 67b. In the latter it is Satan who raises the same objections.

[82] Moore, Judaism, I, 482 (including ns. 1-3).

[83] Baba Batra 16a. S. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (London, 1909), pp. 244 f.

[84] E.g., Sifre, Ahare Perek 13 (ed. Weiss, f. 86a).

[85] Sukkah 52a. See n. 207.

it will be eradicated.[86]

Modern authorities differ considerably in the degree of their identification of Satan with the various demonic chiefs above mentioned, and with the evil impulse.[87] These differences no doubt reflect also the variety of attitudes and beliefs among Jewish leaders of the Talmudic period. But variations of theological outlook are of minor importance for our purpose. Of fundamental significance is the unquestionable evidence the sources present that these powers of evil were objective realities that gravely endangered men's daily welfare.

The dangers from Satanic influence were increased immeasureably by the multitudes of subordinate demons associated with him in his nefarious activities. According to popular belief they swarmed about men at all times. So great was their number that if people could see them, no one could survive their onslaughts. A thousand were at one's right hand, and ten thousand at his left, lurking there to pounce upon their victim. They are variously classified into several groups, according to their nature, origin, functions, and the time of day or night when they were active, but all (both male and female) were workers of harm to humankind.[88] Although little is said of Satan's kingdom in the rabbinic writings, because of the reluctance of the official religious leaders to recognize a counter-government to that of Yahweh, it is clear that the popular mind so regarded the Satanic forces.

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[86] Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 492 f.

[87] *See* e.g., Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 2 ed., 236 f.; Blau, JE, XI, 70; Suffrin, "Dualism (Jewish," *ERE*, V, 113 f.; Charles, Rev., *ICC*, I, 326 (on Satan-serpent identification).

[88] *See* Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, pp. 251-59 for a careful presentation, with sources; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, 760 ff.

5. Influence of Persian Dualism

Developments of thought regarding the hierarchy of evil powers were no doubt greatly influenced by contacts with Persian dualism from the time of the Exile on. In the Zoroastrian system the conflict between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman is age-long and bitten Ahriman, the personification, embodiment and author of evil, is such by nature, and has been from the beginning. He has his existence independently of the creator of good, and is responsible for calling into being all creatures opposed to the Good Spirit. His standing epithet, "Demon of Demons," is in keeping with his malicious, destructive character. In constant struggle with the Spirit of Light, he strives to arouse men's antagonism toward Ormazd and win their loyalty to himself. He is the source of all imperfection, disorder, disease and death, as well as the creator and chief of the innumerable hosts of demons, fiends and arch-fiends who live in hell. Too powerful to be overcome by the angels, only Zarathustra was able to conquer him. The final defeat and utter annihilation of this arch-enemy of all good will come by the hand of man.[89] With Ahriman, in the hierarchy of evil powers, are six arch-fiends, "eminent commanders of the legions of sin," and their cohorts, "a confused horde of wicked spirits framed to bring misery and distress into the world."[90]

In character and functions Satan and Ahriman show striking similarities. Each is an "opponent of God, tempter of the Saviour, foe of mankind, author of lies, a traitor and deceiver, an arch-fiend in command of hosts of demons."[91] Moulton adds the further parallel in the method of recruiting followers of the two demonic chiefs. The Daevas were the gods of the pre-Reformation age of Persian religion as the Baalim were in Israel's early life.[92]

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[89] Zoroaster will have his part in empowering men for the conflict. A.V. Williams Jackson, "Ahriman," ERE, I, 237 gives an illuminating presentation with full source citations. See also Casartelli, "Dualism (Iranian)" in ERE, V, iii; Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism (London, 1913), pp. 135, 349 f.

[90] Jackson, "Demons and Spirits (Persian)," in ERE, IV, 619b.

There are, however, important differences also in these two figures. In the beginning Satan was completely subordinate to Yahweh, while Angra Mainyu was independent of and antagonistic to Ahura Mazda. Whereas Satan originally was a good angel, Ahriman was inherently and unqualifiedly evil from the beginning. Moreover, Ahriman had the power of creation, which Satan never possessed. The Persian demonic chief could not have been thought of as "the prince of this world," a term frequently applied to Satan. In neither system was the dualism thorough-going and complete. In each case the ultimate defeat of the forces of evil by the powers of righteousness is an assured fact.[93]

Other parallels are frequently noted between the two systems. The seven arch-angels of Jewish apocryphal literature, who were admitted to the presence of God and formed His council - the leaders of the heavenly host - have as their prototype the seven Persian princes who "saw the king's face, sitting first in his kingdom" (Esther 1:14).[94] The use of personal names for the chief angels, and demons also developed in this period in the environment of current practice. The demon Asmodeus of Tobit has some striking resemblances to the Persian Aeshma Daeva.[95] The guardian angels of late Jewish theology develop astral tendencies closely akin to the elemental spirits of the Iranian religion.[96] The cosmological conflict between Michael and the Dragon has its counterpart in Persian mythology where Ahriman and his confederate demons attacked heaven in a deadly combat.[97]

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[91] A.V.W. Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, Grundniss der iranischen Philologie, II, 652; quoted by Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, p. 306.

[92] Moulton, op. cit. Of course by no means all of the demons in Judaism came from this source.

[93] Cf. Moulton, ibid., pp. 305 f.

[94] See e.g., Tobit 12:15; I En. 20:7; Fairweather, in HDB, Ext. vol. pp. 286 f.; W.E. Barnes, "The Development of the Religion of Israel from the Return to the Death of Simon the Maccabee," Ch. IX of The People and the Book, ed., A.S. Peake (Oxford, 1925), p. 306.

The presence of these and other[98] parallels raises the pertinent question of genetic relationships. The problem is complex. To assert a wholesale direct borrowing from the Persians by the Jews is too simple a solution. Many other (than Persian) influences of daily experience and of foreign ideas were also interwoven into the web of environmental conditions in which the Jews were enmeshed during exilic and post-exilic times. But we can say with certainty that the changed political environment made necessary important adjustments in Jewish thought regarding good and evil powers, that the chief of the forces of evil now naturally rose to a position of greater prominence, and that their thought of Satan and his demonic legions easily came to flow in channels already provided by their Persian environment. But that made them none the less dreaded and potent in their devastating activities in Jewish life. Experience continued to confirm their convictions of the reality of these hostile powers. Persian and (later) Hellenistic contacts furnished merely the thought forms into which their attitudes were cast.

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[95] Cf. Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 3 ed., p. 337 and n. 1, and literature there cited; Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* (Boston, 1892), p. 150.

[96] Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 324; cf. II En. 19:2.

[97] *See* Charles, *Rev.*, *ICC*, I, 307 f., 324 with full source citations. For further discussion of the problems involved *see* Fairweather, *loc. cit.*; Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie, u.s.w.*, pp. 48 ff.; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (Haarlem, 1898), pp. 235 ff. But we must recall also the aspects of cosmic conflict in earlier Hebrew circles. Cf. *supra*, pp.

[98] Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1913), 326 ff., and Charles, *op. cit.*, present considerable additional evidence.

III. Gentile Rulers as Representatives of Satan

The Jews of the post-exilic period passed through many trying political experiences.[99] Within a few centuries they repeatedly changed political masters. The continued subjection to stronger Gentile powers of a people with so deep a passion for freedom naturally stimulated the development of an intense hostility toward foreign powers. These alien rulers seemed to be in league with the supreme power of evil in a conspiracy against the chosen people of Yahweh. This attitude of hostility was intensified into bitter hatred in times of political or religious controversy. In periods of actual persecution, such as under Antiochus Epiphanes, it broke loose with unrestrained fury. The prevailing political authorities became to the outraged Jews the very representatives of the arch-fiend, Satan himself. The present world-order was in the grip of Satan, the prince or ruler of this age who exercised his sovereignty through the reigning government.

It was customary for Jewish writers to refer symbolically to hated foreign powers as ferocious beasts or mythological monsters.[100] Such characterizations did not necessarily involve any identification with demonic powers, though such connection seems natural in some cases. Manasseh, king of Judah in pre-exilic days, is clearly portrayed by later writers as a satanic servant. His bitter persecution of the prophets marked him as an emissary of the demonic chief. Possessed by Beliar, this apostate king inaugurated a reign of terror for the righteous.

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[99] For a brief summary see supra pp.137 f.

[100] Jer. 51:34; Ezek. 29:3 ff.; Isa. 27:1; Ps. 68:31; 74:13 f.; 80:13; cf. Ps. Sol. 2:29.

Witchcraft, magic, augury, divination, lawlessness, and sexual excesses abounded. Isaiah and other prophets of Yahweh were ruthlessly slain.[101] Beliar, generally identified with Satan, is the great enemy of God, the ruler of this world, the leader of the powers of darkness. Supported by his seven evil spirits, he wars relentlessly against God and his government of the world.[102]

The four beasts of Daniel 7:2-8 that rise out of the chaotic sea are clearly understood as opponents of God and representatives of Satan.[103] In particular Antiochus Epiphanes, who sprang from the fourth beast, is the bitter enemy of God and his people. His ruthless persecution to crush out the Jewish faith and enforce Hellenism upon the faithful, his desecration of the temple and his blasphemy in setting up his image and claiming divine honors, all marked him as unquestionably the emissary of Satan. The attitudes of the authors of Daniel and I Maccabees clearly reflect the popular conception of this ungodly blasphemer. None other than Satan could have possessed him to perpetrate such demonic cruelties against the laws and the people of God.

Later, when Rome becomes the political master of Palestine, she comes to play a similar satanic role. In Psalms of Solomon 2:29 f. Pompey the conqueror of Jerusalem is identified with the fourth beast of Daniel[104] as the enemy of the righteous. In IV Ezra the Roman Empire is symbolized by the eagle that rises out of the sea to bring disaster to the faithful.[105] In the

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[101] Isa. 2:4 f.; 3:11 f.; cf. 11:41, an interpolation representing the same general attitude from a Christian angle.

[102] *See* Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 2 ed., p. 384 f.; 3 ed., p. 334 where passages are cited with criticism; W.H. Bennett and T.K. Cheyne, "Belial," *Encyclopedia Biblica*, I, 525-27.

[103] Cf. Montgomery, Daniel, *ICC*, p. 285. Note a similar interpretation in Sib. Or. III.381-400; Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p.292.

[104] Gray, in Charles, *APOT*, II, 629 f., 633; Charles, Rev. in *ICC*, I.345 f.; Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 2 ed., p. 288.

[105] IV Ezra 11:1 ff.; 12:10 f.; cf. Box, in Charles, *APOT*, II, *loc. cit.*

Assumption of Moses, the ruler of the last times, a relentless persecutor of loyal Jews, exercises his power as the agent of Satan.[106] Bousset sees in this figure a combination of the activities of Antiochus IV and Herod.[107] In any case it is a Gentile ruler operating under satanic authority. Rome plays the same role in the Jewish apocalyptic source of Revelation 13:1-10.[108] In the letter to the church at Pergamum the Apocalyptist characterizes that city as the "throne of Satan."[109] The reference is clearly to the Roman imperial cult, whose worship in the East centered there. The first temple to Augustus and the goddess Roma had been erected there; and the Asiarch, the highest political authority in the province, was the chief priest of the cult. While this passage is from a Christian writer the attitude expressed was at the time undoubtedly shared by many Jews. For many rabbinic writers the identification of the Roman Empire with the fourth beast of Daniel 7 and the Antichrist was commonly held.[110]

Thus, through a period of several centuries the reigning political power was recognized as one of the most effective agencies through which Satan exercised his tremendous sway in this present age. And the satanic character of this dominion stood out in bolder relief against the background of apocalyptic messianism. This comes out clearly in connection with the Antichrist myth.

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[106] Ch. 8.

[107] Op. cit., p. 292.

[108] So Charles interprets the first beast, see his Rev. in ICC, I.332 f.,338,341 f.,345 f.

[109] Rev. 2:13; see Charles, Rev., I, 60 f. and n. 1, p. 61; Case, Revelation of John (Chicago, 1919), p. 219 f.

[110] Charles, Rev., I.345 f.

IV. Satan and Antichrist versus the Messiah

1. The Antichrist a God-opposing Power

The beliefs about Antichrist grew naturally out of the political experiences of the Jewish people. The continued frustration of their long-cherished hopes for political autonomy was the matrix in which developed the expectation of the coming messianic age. This era was to see the complete fulfilment of their longings for political and religious freedom. It would be a veritable Golden Age in which Jewish social and religious ideals would find perfect realization unhindered by alien powers. But generations and centuries passed and the hope was no nearer its realization. In fact the stern experiences of foreign domination, sometimes even persecution, seemed to postpone its fulfilment indefinitely. The successive foreign powers that controlled Jewish political life formed the chief human obstacle to the actualizing of the messianic program. The deep intensity of the hope and the seeming impossibility of its fulfilment aroused bitter hatred toward the ruling powers. These political authorities came to be regarded as in some way in league with a superhuman diabolical force that was ultimately responsible for the frustration of their hopes. This figure came in time to be known as the Antichrist.

Only a few pertinent aspects of the Antichrist doctrine can be considered here. The origin of the conception and its earliest form of expression are alike uncertain. But it is present, at least in embryo, as early as the Maccabean period, though the term does not occur until later. The author of Daniel in his picture of Antiochus IV as a ferocious beast, and emissary of Satan, relentlessly persecuting the faithful, furnishes a basis for later developments.[111] It is natural that his portrayal should make use of the age-old concept of the cosmic monsters that opposed God at the time of creation. This cosmic aspect persists in many forms of the Antichrist doctrine, in both Jewish and Christian circles.[112] Thus in II Bar. 29:4 and IV Ezra 6:49-52 we read that Leviathan and Behemoth will be slain and become food for the righteous in the messianic age. The reference to Antiochus IV as the beast in Daniel is, however, symbolical. As a tyrannical alien king, the worshipper of foreign deities and the claimant of divine honors he assumed for the pious Jew the role of the agent of Satan if not his human incarnation.

2. The Antichrist as Satan

It was a natural and easy step from this conception to the identification of the Antichrist with Satan himself. This idea is found in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where he is associated with the tribe of Daniel.[113] Here he is frequently called Beliar and has wild beasts as his servants.[114] Beliar is also the Antichrist of the Sibylline Oracles. Here too he is the supreme adversary of God in the moral world.[115] He also retains the satanic role in Ascension of Isaiah 4:2 and in the Talmud.

> As the incarnation of evil Satan is the arch-enemy of the Messiah: he is Antichrist. The light which was created before the world was hidden by God beneath His throne; and to the question of Satan in regard to it God answered, 'This light is kept for him who shall bring thee to shame.' At his request God showed Satan the Messiah; 'and when he saw him he trembled, fell upon his face, and cried, Verily this is the Messiah who

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[111] Montgomery, *Daniel*, p. 83, n. 7, rightly points out that we have here only the "core" from which came the later Antichrist speculation.

[112] Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.*, 3 Aufl., 254-6, with sources.

[113] Test. Dan 5:6; Charles, *APOT*, II.334; *Rev.* in ICC, I. 208 f.

[114] Test. Naph. 8:4; Isa. 7:7; Benj. 5:2 f.; Zeb. 9.

[115] M.R. James, "Man of Sin and Antichrist," *HDB*, III.228.

shall hurl me and all the princes of the angels of the peoples down even unto hell.'[116]

In other sources the role is played by the Roman Empire or some of its officials. Pompey and Nero are the chief individuals so designated. In the Nero-saga there are several variations of the theme. Some references are to his return from his eastern campaign as Antichrist, others involve the return from the spirit world of Nero Redivivus.[117] But through all these variations runs the theme of the hostile Roman power as the satanically-inspired enemy of the righteous people of God, doing everything possible to bring disaster and destruction upon them.

3. National Messiah as Conqueror of Hostile Powers

It is quite natural that the Messiah, the ideal political leader and ruler of the nation, should have a prominent part in the overthrow of the hostile foreign powers. This is what we actually find in many cases, though the conceptions show wide variation in detail. In the Psalms of Solomon we find expressed the fervent hope that God may raise up his Messiah to bring deliverance from foreign domination. The Messiah here is the Son of David who will "destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth....With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces" the sinful Gentiles who trample Jerusalem under their iron heel. His conquest will come, not through the ordinary weapons of warfare, but by means of his powerful words which will accomplish their complete destruction.[118] While the term Antichrist is not found in this passage, the Roman power alluded to clearly fits into this current concept. In another passage[119] the hated foreign ruler who has met an ignominious death is probably to be identified with Pompey.[120] An interpolated section IV Ezra likewise presents the Davidic Messiah as the victor over the godless power of Rome.[121] The alien power is represented as an eagle and the Messiah as a conquering lion. In neither of these instances is there a specific reference to the usurping foreign kingdom as the agency of Satan but the attitude of bitter hatred toward it and the denunciation of its sins and cruelties clearly implies such connection.

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[116] Pesik. R. 3:6, ed. Friedmann, p. 161b. Blau, "Satan," JE, XI.70b.

[117] Bousset, Der Antichrist. Eng. Trans. The Antichrist Legend; a Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore (London, 1896); Charles, Rev. in ICC, passim (see Index); in Vol. II, p. 77 Charles gives a summary of the Antichrist, Beliar and Neronic myths, with the history of their merging in Christian literature.

[118] Ps. Sol. 17:23-27,37; see Gray's commentary in Charles,

4. Apocalyptic Messiah versus Hostile Powers

The Apocalyptic Messiah is also assigned this task of freeing the faithful from the dominion of the tyrannical foreign powers. The one "like unto a son of man" who appears in Daniel 7:13 f. is given dominion over all peoples and nations. It is not clearly stated whether this position of authority was bestowed upon him by God ("the ancient of days") after He had conquered the nations, or whether the Messiah must conquer them himself. But his sway over all opposing powers, including the oppressing Syrian kingdom of Antiochus IV is unquestioned. The heavenly Messiah of II Bar. is pictured as victorious over the last great ruler of Rome, the supreme kingdom of wickedness.[122] This victory

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APOT, II. This conquest by a "word of power" is in keeping with the ancient attitude regarding its potency. It is closely linked with the methods employed in exorcism.

[119] 2:30 ff.

[120] So Gray in Charles, APOT, II.

[121] IV Ezra 12:31-33; following Box, APOT, II.614. The dominant picture of the Messiah in the rest of this book is that of the pre-existent heavenly figure.

[122] II Bar. 39:7-40:2; cf. chs. 36-39 for the parable through which this victory is presented. Charles suggests that Pompey may be in the mind of the writer here as well as of the author of Ps. Sol. 2:29-35 (Gray); APOT, II.500 f.

over the hated foreigner is likewise regarded as a triumph of the Messiah and his people over the forces of Satan.

The heavenly Messiah of IV Ezra 13 is a spectacular figure. He rises out of the sea, flies with the clouds of the heavens, and takes his station upon a high mountain. When attacked by an innumerable host of enemies he slays them with streams of fire and storms of sparks that flame from his mouth, burning them into ashes and smoke. Thus he destroys all hostile and ungodly powers, both foreign nations and demonic hosts, and reigns supreme over the righteous.[123]

5. Apocalyptic Messiah as Conqueror of Satan

Closely associated with the overthrow of the sinful earthly kingdoms that rule as Satan's representatives, is the final conquest of the prince of evil himself, and of his demonic hordes. This event forms one of the most significant features of the eschatological program. The last days will be characterized by unusual activity of the hordes of demons to be turned loose upon mankind. They will bring a multitude of woes upon men, and attempt by miraculous deeds to lead astray the righteous.[124] But when the Apocalyptic Messiah appears, he will bring destruction upon all sinners and "those who have led the world astray" (I Enoch 69:27 f.). This apparently will include the conquest of the fallen angels and the demons (cf. 62:2). In the same context (69:26) we read that there was great joy when the name of the Son of Man was revealed. No doubt one reason for this rejoicing was the realization that now the power of Satan should be broken. We have already noted the Talmudic passage depicting satanic consternation upon seeing the Messiah who was destined to put an end to his dominion over mankind.

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[123] Cf. A.G. Gall, *Basileia tou Theou* (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 425, who would emend the text to read "unnumbered hosts of *demons*" who attack the Messiah. *See also* Gressman's suggestive (but not wholly conclusive) theory that the messianic figure descended to the realm of the dead where he conquered all the hostile demonic powers and returned with his own loyal followers (*Der Messias*, ed. by Schmidt (Göttingen, 1929), pp. 348 f., 356 ff., 371 f.) For its sources in ancient sun-myths of Egypt, *see* 407 f.

[124] II Bar. 27:9; IV Ezra 5:4-6; Sib. Or. III 63-70. In this last passage the Antichrist is said to be "from the stock of Sebaste" probably referring to the Augustan line of Roman Emperors. A return of Nero may be implied. So Charles, Asc. Isa. p. LXVIII; cf. Lanchester, *APOT*, II.380. *See* II Thess. 2:3 ff. for the doc-

In Test. XII. Patr. we find the picture of a Messiah who is of the tribe of Levi and exercises priestly functions. But one of his most important tasks is the overthrow of the power of Satan, here designated as Beliar.

> And he shall make war against Beliar.
> And execute an everlasting vengeance on your enemies;
> And the captivity shall he take from Beliar (the souls
> of the saints).
>
> And Beliar shall be bound by him,
> And he shall give power to His children to tread upon
> the evil spirits.[125]

This conquest of the satanic hosts in Test. XII. Patr. is closely linked, however, with men's victory over sin. Beliar who represents Satan is the great tempter to sin. By his spirits of deceit and error he leads men astray. But in the messianic age men will repent of their sinful ways and righteousness will so increase that Satan's dominion over them will be broken. The moral rather than the political aspects of satanic activity are clearly in this author's mind. Thus in Test. Dan 6:1-4 he says:

> And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the

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trine that the period of extreme wickedness must precede the advent of the Messiah.

[125] Test. Dan 5:10 f.; Levi 18:12; cf. Sim. 6:6; Naph. 8:4,6; Iss. 7:7; Benj. 5:3; Charles, APOT, II.

> day on which Israel shall repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. (Charles, APOT, II.335).

Test. Naph. 8:4 is similar in tone.

> If ye work that which is good, my children,
> Both men and angels shall bless you;
> And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
> And the devil shall flee from you
> 'And the wild beasts shall fear you.' (*Op. cit.* p. 339).

The book of Jubilees likewise pictures the final triumph over Satan in terms of a moral victory. The messianic kingdom is "to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature."[126] This moral interpretation of man's conquest over Satan is shared by the author of the Assumption of Moses (10:1 ff.). But the actuality and the dreaded power of Satan are none the less real because they think of his defeat in the spiritual rather than the political realm. In any case his complete overthrow is recognized as a necessity for the realization of the glorious messianic age.

In a number of passages God himself is presented as the conqueror of Satan and his demonic hordes. Test. Asher 7 predicts that He will crush the head of the dragon. According to Test. Sim. 6:5 f., God will come to earth in a great theophany, tread under foot the spirits of deceit, and "men shall rule over wicked spirits." This direct action of deity is in keeping with those pictures of the messianic age in which a personal Messiah is either lacking or but dimly presented. In any case it is the power of God which is ultimately responsible for crushing the forces of evil.

6. Archangels *versus* Satan

A variant form of the great eschatological conflict makes the archangel Michael the leader of the forces of righteousness in the overthrow of the satanic hosts.[127] Test. Levi 3:3 speaks of the angelic army up in the second heaven awaiting the great judgment day when they shall work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. I Enoch presents a rather elaborate account of the final fate of the forces of evil. In 10:4-8 Raphael is assigned the task of binding Azazel, the demonic chief, and imprisoning him in solitude in the desert until the judgment day when he will be cast into the fire. Chapters 54:1-56:4 place similar responsibility upon four of the archangels. In this instance, the Watchers and their children the demons are included with Azazel as the hosts destined to imprisonment, chained in "the abyss of complete condemnation," and then to be cast into the burning furnace.

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[126] Charles, APOT, II., p. 9; on Jub. 23:29; cf. also 40:9; 46:1 f.,5.

Space does not permit a thorough consideration of all the aspects of this final overthrow of the hosts of evil by the forces of God, the Messiah and his righteous followers. There are many variant theories, and inconsistencies, even within a single document. These can be understood in the light of the complexity of elements entering into the eschatological expectations, and the constant changes in the political and social situations that conditioned these attitudes. Our survey has shown clearly that the whole trend of political experiences intensified the dread significance of superhuman forces of evil in their daily lives. At every turn in their contacts with foreign peoples, they were menaced by Satan and his allies with their network of conspiracies to thwart their fondest hopes of an independent and righteous

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[127] Rev. 12:7 f.; Charles, Rev. in ICC, I.299 f.,305-314. In Assum. Moses 10:2 the chief angel is to overthrow Satan. Charles regards this as an insertion into the original text, as verses 3-10 clearly picture God as overthrowing all enemies (APOT, II.421 f.). Cf. Test. Dan 6:1-4.

Jewish regime. Gentile rulers, alien deities, Satan, the demonic hosts and the fallen angels were all implicated in the evil plot against Yahweh's chosen people. Deliverance and victory could come only through the intervention of Yahweh with his Messiah and the angelic hosts. Instigated by the superhuman powers of evil the plot could be frustrated only through alliance with the divine forces of righteousness. And it is significant that whatever the type of hope for the ideal kingdom, it was impossible of realization until the menace of Satan and his powers had been removed.

B. Demons in Relation to Physical Welfare

We now turn from a consideration of the strictly national aspects of Jewish life to the more intimate personal experiences and social relationships. Of these none are of more vital importance or more insistent than the quest for physical well-being. One of man's most fundamental needs and interests is for health of body and mind. To this the Jews were no exception. The general health conditions in Palestine in pre-exilic times have already been discussed.[128] We noted that on the whole the Hebrews lived a healthful life, though by no means free from disease. There seems to be little evidence to show any striking changes in health conditions in post-exilic times. The hardships involved in adjustment to Babylonian life were a strain on both physical and mental equilibrium for many but there is no reason to conclude that these were very far-reaching or permanent. On the other hand the influence in the Hellenistic period, of Greek athletics was undoubtedly wholesome and constructive. Our extant records show but few great plagues or pestilences during this period.[129]

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[128] *Supra* pp. 115 f. Because of similarity of conditions in this period our treatment here will be brief.

[129] Undoubtedly the increasing strictness of the ritualistic laws contributed much toward this condition.

This seems to mark definite advance over pre-exilic times.[130] Not only were hygienic conditions very similar to those of the earlier periods; the general social and intellectual outlook was also similar enough that experiences were interpreted in very much the same way.

Still there were a number of diseases that took a heavy toll of vitality and even of lives. The dreaded leprosy, with its varied forms and their corresponding degrees of seriousness, was all too common. Blindness and other forms of eye disease afflicted many in Palestine as in other parts of the Orient. Various abdominal complaints as well as functional diseases of the other vital organs were quite prevalent. The Gospel records show clearly the presence also of a variety of organic defects such as lameness, withered hands or legs, etc. Then there were many suffering from nervous disorders such as palsy, epilepsy, delirium, and various types of insanity. These are but typical of a large number of physical ailments with which the Jews were afflicted.

It was necessary that they should understand and deal with these important experiences in accordance with the prevailing world view and intellectual outlook of the time. With very little or no thought of the objective scientific causes of these diseases, and no scientific technic for discovering them, they must inevitably interpret them in terms of their pre-scientific weltanschauung. The general prevailing world-view in Jewish as well as Gentile circles was that of supernaturalism. Every significant occurrence in every aspect of human experience was attributed ultimately to some superhuman power, either good or evil.[131] This attitude which we found prevalent in earlier Hebrew life persisted to the later age. The chief change was in the fact of greater clarity and more specific sources, often with definite names, to which their experiences are attributed. Naturally diseases and other disastrous experiences are traced to superhuman powers of evil, chiefly the demons.[132] This applies particularly to the more dangerous diseases.

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[130] The Bab. Pesakim 111b ff., however, speaks of the spirit of poisonous pestilence.

[131] Case, Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times (New York, 1929), gives abundant evidence from current sources of this period.

> In the main demons were workers of harm. To them were ascribed the various diseases, particularly such as affect the brain and inner parts. Hence there was constant fear of 'Shabriri' the demon of blindness, who rests on uncovered water at night and strikes those with blindness who drink it (Pes. 112a, 'Ab Zarah 12b);...the demon of epilepsy...the spirit of delirious fever and madness,...the spirit of leprosy (Ket 61b), et al....These demons were supposed to enter the body and cause the disease while overwhelming... or 'seizing' the victim.[133]

> Bodily defects and all physical sufferings, not otherwise explicable, are in the Talmud ascribed to evil spirits. The Mishna, or earliest portion of it, written down before 135 A.D., bears little trace of the belief in possession of evil demons; but the Babylonian and Jerusalem Gemara, written down respectively as early as 500 and 400 A.D., teem with evidence of such beliefs.[134]

In Psalm 41:8 an evil disease is literally "a thing of Belial." The author of Jub. 10 attributes sickness to the activities of the fallen angels, who are closely related to demonic forces. Likewise, in I Enoch 69:12 f., we meet a fallen angel named Kasdeja who functions in the same realm.

> ...this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons and the smitings of the embryo

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[132] Some Jews held sickness to be a punishment for sin. Mark 2:5; 3:10; John 9:2; Mechilta 80b; Beresch. rabba c. 62; Weber, Jüdische Theologie, 2 ed., 322 f. Even in some of these cases it is possible that the demon was the agency used for punishing the sinner.

[133] Kohler, "Demonology," JE, IV, 517.

[134] Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," JQR, IX (1896), 84. The reluctance of the official Jewish leaders to recognize Satan and the demons under him is easily understood in the light of their vigorous attempts to promote strict Jewish monotheism and exclude foreign influences. But the popular attitudes were so strong that they won official recognition in the later portions of the Talmud.

in the womb, that it may pass away, and (the smitings of the soul) the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Taba'et.[135]

So all-embracing were the activities of the demons that from birth to death people considered themselves relentlessly pursued by their malicious attacks. The lives of the mother and her new-born infant were menaced by the murderous Liliths who lay in wait for their prey. Sometimes they struck infants with blindness and other horrible maladies even before birth.[136] Demons threatened the happiness and even the lives of newly-wedded couples, as is vividly pictured in Tobit, where Sarah's seven ill-fated husbands were slain by the demon Asmodeus.[137]

Many other diseases were directly attributed to demonic agency in rabbinic Judaism. These include leprosy, epilepsy, catalepsy, heart disease, delirium, insanity, asthma, croup, headache, rabies, somnambulism and evil dreams, as among the most common.[138] Certain periods of the year, especially midsummer, were dangerous to men because of the demons' attacks.[139] Night-time was the most dangerous part of the day as the evil spirits were out en masse then, but they could not injure men after cock-crowing. One who walked alone, while they were abroad, took his life in his hands; but safety might be insured by a company of two; while the demons did not even appear if three were together. Trees, gardens, vineyards, ruined and desolate houses, filthy places and cemeteries were favorite haunts of the Shedim.[140] One who dared to sleep alone unprotected in a house was courting the gravest danger, as he does in Arabia even today.[141] According to Megilla 3a and Sanh. 44a the Mazzikin were so numerous that one dared not reach out his hand at night for fear of touching them.[142] So multitudinous were their numbers and so all-inclusive their scope of activities that people dreaded their almost-constant presence and power. Children in particular were subject to attacks of certain demons. What agony for the Jewish boy to have hanging over his head the sword of Damocles, Shibta the relentless demon that pounced upon those with unwashed hands or dirty finger-tips![143]

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[135] Charles, APOT, II.234.

[136] Loewe, "Demons and Spirits (Jewish)," ERE, IV.614a; Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," JQR, XI (1898), 29 f.; Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 76. If, as seems probable, some of these passages refer to venereal diseases we can more readily understand why they should be traced to a demonic source.

[137] Tobit 3:7 f.; 6:7 f., 13-17.

[138] Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 3 Aufl. pp. 338 f.; Strack and Billerback, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 4 vols. in 5 (München, 1922-28), IV.I.525 f.; Edersheim, LTJM, II. 774; L. Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (Strassburg, 1898), pp. 13 f. and works there cited for sources.

[139] Loewe, loc. cit., IV.613b., quoting Bab. Pesachim 111b. ff.

Many times the disease demon entered the body of the one attacked and controlled him. He was thus in the most literal sense of the term "possessed" by the demon. This was a commonly accepted explanation, particularly of the more serious and violent diseases such as epilepsy, delirium, and various forms of insanity. The Gospels, Josephus, and the Talmudic writings - not to mention Jewish inscriptions and Graeco-Roman sources - agree in the reality of this experience. Its grim realism is revealed in a late Babylonian-Jewish bowl inscription, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart."[144]

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[140] Edersheim, op. cit., II.760 f., with source citations.

[141] Blau, op. cit., p. 53; Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta (London, 1888), II.3. A light protects from the jinn, according to Arabian thought today.

[142] Blau, op. cit., p. 12 and n. 7, p. 11 f.

[143] Kohler, loc. cit., p. 517.

[144] Schwab, "Deux vases judeo - babyloniens," Revue d'assyriologie, etc., II (1892), 136, Bowl F; quoted by Montgomery, AITN, p. 25; cf. p. 18 and n. 12 for references.

But the attacks of demons upon men are not confined to this present life. We have already referred to the function of Satan as the angel of death in late Judaism.[145] Many other demons were also murderers under certain circumstances, especially Asmodeus, Qeteb, and the Liliths.[146] But the demons continued to torment the souls even after death, determined to keep them forever within their power.[147]

Hence demons played a very significant part in matters of physical well-being. At every step in one's experience, from before his birth until after his death, he was beset mercilessly by sinister, invisible forces seeking to do him bodily harm. Powers so dangerous to the health of oneself and family must be given due recognition and dealt with most judiciously. And any means that might be employed with efficacy in thwarting these malicious attacks was naturally regarded as a wonderful blessing. A religion that aided men in the solution of this persistent, ever-present problem of human welfare was performing a divinely-inspired mission among them. Into this atmosphere the early Christian preachers came with the glorious good news of release from the dread control of Satan and his hosts, through the power of Jesus the divine deliverer of man.

C. Demons in Connection with Social Relationships Within the Nation

People within a wide range of social experiences, also faced the necessity of dealing with demonic forces. They played a vital part in the conduct of the family relationships, in eating drinking, and similar commonplace acts, in financial and business matters, in problems of personal morality, in amusements and other related contacts.

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[145] Supra pp. 155 f.
[146] See Strack and Billerbeck, op. cit., IV. I, 520 f.
[147] Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., p. 339 with sources.

In the family circle they threatened peace and happiness in a number of ways. From the time the family was established they exerted their baneful influence. They prevented the conception of children - the supreme blessing to a Jewish couple - or made the offspring blind, crippled or otherwise deformed. The Liliths were particularly dreaded by mothers and children because of this deadly work. But there were other demons, according to late sources, that also attended women in childbirth for the specific purpose of harming or slaying the children.[148] In the Testament of Solomon, Asmodeus (familiar to us from Tobit) thus describes his activities.

> ...my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts....I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men.[149]

This function of arousing strong sexual passions that lead to illicit relations is quite commonly ascribed to both Satan and his subordinates. Satan is presented as the seducer and paramour of Eve, a practice often copied by his followers with other women.[150] Adam in turn is said to have had intercourse with Lilith and other female spirits, thus filling the world with the shedim and other demonic offspring.[151] In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are found repeated warnings against the wiles of the spirit of fornication that seduces men into all sexual sins. Fornication is described as a "destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach." Women, overcome by this spirit of fornication, which is a spirit of Beliar, by their cunning wiles allure men into sin as they did the Watchers, and as the Egyptian woman did when she attempted to seduce Joseph.[152] According to Talmud and Midrash, Satan was the accuser and disturber of men in these and many other family relationships.[153]

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[148] Cf. supra, pp.107-10 and sources there cited.

[149] Quoted from Conybeare in Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 75.

[150] II En. 31:4-6; Thompson, op. cit., pp. 74-76.

[151] Loewe, loc. cit., p. 614a. Lilith, out of jealousy of Eve's children, attacks and attempts to slay all new-born infants.

In the same way every daily activity or contact was fraught with imminent danger.

> Indeed, no one would survive it, if he saw their number. A thousand at your right hand and ten thousand at your left, such crowding in the Academy or by the side of a bride; such weariness and faintness through their malignant touch, which rent the very dress of the wearers! (Ber. 6a). The queen of the female spirits had no less a following than 180,000 (Pes. 112b). Little as we imagine it, these spirits lurk everywhere around us: in the crumbs on the floor, in the oil in the vessels, in the water which we would drink, in the diseases which attack us, in the even-numbered cups of our drinking, in the air, in the room, by day and by night.[154]

This ever-present fear of the ubiquitous demons represents attitudes which seem to have persisted for many centuries, even to our own time. A traveller in Palestine a few years ago has left an account of conditions strikingly similar to that just noted.

> They (the Jan) are supposed to be ever lurking about dry food or cooking places. And if a woman touch any bread, or flour, or butter, or whatever it may be, and omit to call on the name of the Lord, the Jan immediately seize their portion of the food which they carry away into their underground dwellings. Therefore, no woman will do anything, not so much as step out of a room without saying: 'In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate,' and never will they talk about these ghosts save in a very respectful way, naming God at each other sentence, and they think it better to avoid talking to them at all, for the Jan listen to all that is said and see whatever is done and will take their vengeance. At certain moments they have power to kill persons should the human transgressions

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[152] Test. Reuben 5:3-7; 6:3; Levi 9:9; Joseph 7:4.

[153] Blau, "Satan," JE, XI.70b, with details and sources.

[154] Edersheim, LTJM, II.760 f.; cf. Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen, p. 11; Kohler, "Demonology," JE, IV.515-17.

as to the Jan be too great.[155]

So great was the multitude of these hostile spirits that they may be classified from several points of view. From the point of view of origin and physical characteristics there is a threefold division into

> ...spirits, devils, and 'lilin' (Targ. Yer. to Deut. 32:24; Targ. Shem. to Esth. 1:3; passim). The first have neither body nor form; the second appear in complete human shape; the third in human shape but with wings (Rashi to Sanh. 109a). Adam procreated all the spirits while he was under a spell (Gen. R. 20:11; 'Er. 18b). Similarly Eve bore demons to male spirits for the space of 130 years. This corresponds to the view that the demons are half human (Hag. 16a). Hence an abortion which has the shape of Lilith may be a child, though it has wings. (Nid. 24b).[156]

The three terms Ruchoth, Shedim and Mazzikin are commonly applied to the powers of evil, but the distinctive characteristics are somewhat uncertain. Blau[157] suggests the following as probable:

(1) Ruchoth, originally the souls of departed human beings.

(2) Shedim, the half-human, half-angelic beings, who, according to one tradition, had been created by God on Friday; according to another, they had been begotten by Adam.

(3) The term Mazzikin was applied to both of them in reference to their evil works.[158]

According to late rabbinic sources[159] they were classified also in terms of the time of day when they were active. (1) Tsaphriré, or morning - spirits (Targ. on Ps. 121:6; Targ. Cant. 4:6); (2) Tiharé, or midday spirits (Targ. Ps. Jon. Dt.

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[155] Baldensperger, "Woman in the Orient," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (1899), p. 148.

[156] Blau, "Lilith," JE, VIII.88.

[157] Das altjüd. Zauberwesen, p. 14 f. The term Lilin often refers to the female spirits corresponding to the male Shedim; Weber, Jüdische Theologie, 2 ed., p. 255.

[158] For a splendid discussion of various classes of demons in Babylonian, Jewish and other Semitic circles see Montgomery, AITN, pp. 69-94; also Strack and Billerbeck, Kom., IV. I. pp. 505-9

[159] Targ. Ps. Jon. Num. 6:24; in Edersheim LTJM, II.761.

32:24; Targ. Cant. 4:6); (3) Telané, or evening spirits (Targ. Cant. 3:8:4:6; Targ. Eccles. 2:5); (4) Lilin, or night spirits (Targ. Ps. Jon. on Dt. 32:34; Targ. Is. 34:14).

In another late document we read that Rabbi Jochanan (d. 279 A.D.) knew 300 different species of demons (Shedim).[160] They are elsewhere said to possess three characteristics of angels and three of human beings.

> The rabbans taught: the demons possess six characteristics, three like the ministering angels, and three like the sons of men. Three like the ministering angels: they have wings like the ministering angels and they fly from one end of the world to the other like the ministering angels and they know what is determined for the future...like the ministering angels. They know! Do you come to that opinion? Rather they hear it from behind the curtain like the ministering angels. Three like the sons of men: they eat and drink like the sons of men, they propagate themselves like the sons of men, and they die like the sons of men.[161]

These traditions regarding the origin and characteristics of evil spirits with their various classifications are of especial importance for our purpose from one point of view. They furnish evidence of the thorough pervasiveness of demonic influence and the fears they inspired in all the daily contacts and relationships of life. They were a constant threat to the safety of personal property. They stole anything they could find loose and unprotected.[162] They endangered men in their business relationships, often bringing them to poverty.[163] They sowed discord among men often leading to bitter enmities.[164]

In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs we find a long list of sins practically identified with the evil spirits that are held responsible for them. There are the seven spirits of error: fornication, insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness and chicanery, pride, lying and injustice.[165] Hatred, envy, wrath, jealousy, the seven spirits of deceit (almost identical with the senses plus the sexual impulse), and other similar evil attitudes and forms of conduct are frequently mentioned and are traced to spirits of Beliar as their source.[166] This personification of the various immoral attitudes is apparently meant to be interpreted in a very realistic sense, judging from the whole atmosphere of the work. We have here also the practical identification of the Evil Inclination (Yeser Hara) with Beliar the demonic chief.[167] The author of Jubilees 12:20 says that evil spirits have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts, and a talmudic passage speaks of the power of the demons over one who violates a command of God.[168]

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[160] Git. 68a; reference in Strack and Billerbeck, Kom., IV. I.509,515 (sec. e).

[161] Hagiga, 16a; quoted in McCown, Testament of Solomon, p. 62; cf. n. 4; see also Bousset, Rel. d. Jud., 3 ed., p. 338 and n. 2.

[162] Oesterly, Translation of Mishna Tractate Shab. VI.1. p. 20; VI.3, p. 23.

[163] Strack and Billerbeck, Kom., IV. I., 526.

[164] Git. 52a; 'Er. 26a; Yoma 67b; Shab. 104a; Yeb 16a; Blau, JE, XI.70.

Even in recreation and amusements one must be on the alert against these malicious powers. This became increasingly true with the growth of foreign influence in Palestine and the multiplication of contacts with the Gentiles. As we noted in the consideration of political conditions, contacts with foreign peoples and their deities involved contacts with dangerous demonic forces. The Jews who adopted Greek athletic games and sports with all their implications were endangering both themselves and the community as a whole. The same applied to the theatre and other forms of amusement. In these cases the danger was two-fold. There was the general danger of what we might term the "orthodox

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[165] Test. Reuben 3:1-7.

[166] Test. Reuben 2:1 ff.; Sim. 2:6 f.; 3:1; 4:8 f.; Jud. 16; 20; Iss. 7; Zeb. 3; Dan 1:6-8; 2:1; 3:6; Benj.7:1 f.;Gad 5:2; 6:2.

[167] Test. Asher chs.1-3; *see* Charles' n. on 1:8, *APOT*,II.343.

[168] Debarim rabba, c.4; Weber, *JT*, 2.Aufl. p. 171.

Jewish demons" that threatened in relation to everything which one might undertake, and also the menace of harm from the evil spirits of the Gentiles.

D. Summary

The Jews during this period were undergoing many common human experiences that were extremely troublesome and baffling. Many of their most cherished political hopes were doomed to disappointment. Social and business ambitions were often thwarted. Disease and death ruthlessly invaded the family circle, striking down loved ones. The daily routine of life was beset with uncertainty, perplexing problems, potential dangers, and at times overwhelming disasters. These experiences were real, intimate, poignant, inescapable. Sometimes they came as "a bolt out of the blue sky" without warning or any apparent human cause. They seemed to come from some sinister source beyond their control. With very little scientific knowledge of the operation of physical, psychological and social "laws" in their world, they inevitably interpreted these experiences in thought-forms current in their time.

With the general prevalence of supernaturalism as a world-view, and demonology as a phase of it, this demonic interpretation of life's ills was inevitable. It had been built into popular tradition, through millenniums of racial experience of their own and related groups, and strengthened by contacts in more recent times with peoples (especially Chaldean, Persian and Egyptian) who had developed more elaborate systems than their own. This last fact, added to the increased intellectual interests of the post-exilic period explains the presence of more definite system in the later demonology. Its general acceptance in this period is conclusively shown by its prominence in apocryphal, New Testament, and other current literature. Its scarcity in the Mishna is to be explained as an attempt of the official religious leaders in Judaism to suppress such emphasis as dangerous to the true faith. This was of course motivated by the practical desire to guarantee all desired blessings to the Jews through the strict maintenance of their right relationship with Yahweh their God. But the force of popular attitudes later became too strong and the current demonological beliefs found abundant literary expression as the later talmudic sources clearly show. What had for a long time been powerful with the populace thus came to have official recognition. This applied to Palestinian as well as Babylonian circles, though the latter show more elaborate expression of these interests. This pervasive dread of the multitudes of demons inevitably had its influence upon Jewish religious attitudes and practices. In fact it was an integral aspect of popular Judaism of the time. The vast circle of life in which these evil forces operated included the major human needs to which religion must minister. A vital religion must provide genuine satisfaction for people's real needs arising out of the perplexing problems of everyday experience. How Judaism attempted to meet these needs will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

EXORCISM IN POST EXILIC AND TANNAITIC JUDAISM

The term exorcism is here used in a very inclusive sense. It is applied to a variety of procedures, all of which were to protect people from demons. It includes various apotropaic rites to ward off evil spirits from the individual or society as well as practices to drive out the demons after they had attacked or possessed their victims. A number of methods are embraced under each of the two general types of procedure, apotropaic and expulsive.

The underlying philosophy upon which all such practices were based was very simple and clear-cut as well as very widespread geographically in the ancient world. It was that of supernaturalism. As all evils of a demonic nature came from some superhuman source it was necessary that the cure also should be superhuman. It was essential for man in some way to ally himself with beneficent superhuman powers or agencies stronger than the attacking forces of evil in order to gain release from and mastery over them. All of the varied methods used at this time operated on this fundamental assumption.

The methods may be classified into two general types, individual practices and social practices. The first includes a number of procedures carried on by private individuals to protect themselves or other individuals from the influence of evil spirits. The second type applies to various forms and practices of the official Jewish cult life carried out to insure the welfare of the Jewish group as a whole. This social exorcism was of course under priestly control.[1] The two types are in some cases very closely associated, but generally the distinction is clear.

A. Private or Individual Practices of Exorcism

These private practices included (1) general precautionary measures, (2) a life of piety and devotion to the law of God, (3) the use of charms and amulets, (4) the use of scripture passages, (5) the use of the name of God, (6) the use of the names of the angels, (7) the use of other powerful names: Jesus and Jewish heroes, (8) the employment of miscellaneous formulae, objects and practices.

I. General Precautionary Measures

Many places and objects that were especially infested with demons must be avoided with the greatest care. Thus, one should avoid sleeping alone in a house at night. He should not go out alone at night. He must keep away from ruins and cemeteries and beware of demonic attacks at toilets. He must exercise the greatest care in washing his hands in the morning, shun even numbers, and beware of things that were wrapped, sealed, measured or numbered.[2] As a rule a light is regarded as a protection against demons, but the Mishna represents the opposite position. It permits the putting out of a light on the sabbath to guard against possible attacks of the heathen, of robbers, and of demons.[3] It states elsewhere that whoever stands before a burning lamp will become an epileptic, and whoever has sexual intercourse before a lighted lamp will beget epileptic children.[4] Stuffing cotton into one's ears is recommended in another passage in Tractate Sabbath as a precaution against demons.[5] According to Pesikta,[6] diet was the normal Jewish method of dealing with disease, hence was regarded as effective in warding off or expelling demons from their victims. Sanh. 65b says that one should starve himself in order to exorcise the spirit of impurity.[7] We are at once reminded of the statement of Jesus in Mark 9:29, "This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer and fasting."[8] The dietary emphasis is also found in Berachoth 40a which enjoins the eating and drinking of covenant salt as a protection against demons.[9] These varied practices were for the most part apotropaic customs which represent deeply-engrained popular social attitudes in dealing with the ever-present forces of harm.

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[1] We shall be concerned primarily with the phenomena of exorcism in Palestinian Judaism, but similar practices in extra-Palestinian circles will be noted at times. A clear-cut discrimination between the two is often difficult because of the nature of some of our source materials and the contacts maintained between the Jews within and those outside Palestine. For our purpose it is not essential that the distinction be made in every case.

[2] Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neun Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München, 1922-28), IV.I.533, sec. g, for full source references.

II. Piety: Devotion to the Divine Law

Perhaps the most characteristic Jewish method of insuring safety from evil powers was the practice of piety. A life in obedience to the Torah of Yahweh was a guarantee of security. A passage from Test. Benj. 3:3-5 is typical.

> Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you....

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[3] Sabbath 30b.

[4] Pesachim 112b; cf. Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (Strassburg, 1898), p. 55 f., who also calls attention to the current conception of the epileptic as possessed.

[5] Thompson, Semitic Magic (London, 1908), p. 115 and n. 5.

[6] Ed. Buber, 118a, see Blau, DAZ, p. 58 and n. 1.

[7] Blau, DAZ, p. 53 and n. 7.

[8] Although the phrase "and fasting" lacks the best MS evidence, it represents an attitude that was current in some circles in early Christianity.

[9] Cf. Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," HDB, I.592b.

> For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbors cannot be smitten by the spirit of Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts.[10]

The same author gives illustrations of the cures of ailments through prayer. In one of these, the prayer of Joseph was powerful enough to overcome the harmful influence of deadly enchantments that had been mingled with his food.[11] The Evil Impulse can be conquered by good works, according to both apocryphal and talmudic sources. References to the Law as a prophylactic against the yeser hara are a favorite theme in the Talmud.

> So God said to the Israelites, my children, I have created for you the evil impulse, and I have created for you the Law as an antiseptic. So long as you occupy yourselves with it, the evil impulse will not have dominion over you,...but if you do not occupy yourselves with the Law, you will be delivered into its power.[12]

This life of piety involved a devoted reading and study of the Scriptures, prayer and participation in the synagogue services, as well as strict adherence to the ritualistic requirements of Judaism. Tradition tells of pious rabbis whose prayers saved themselves or others from serious illnesses or such dangers as bites of poisonous snakes and the most potent forms of destructive magic.[13] This emphasis upon protection through loyalty to the will of God is more typically Jewish than the more magical forms of procedure to be noted later.

III. Charms and Amulets

The wearing of objects by people or animals, or placing them on houses, and other property to protect them against malign forces was ancient among the Jews as among other nations.[14] It also continued for many centuries. Stones, rings bells, nails and other iron objects, teeth of animals, images, and inscribed objects were all included in their repertory of apotropaic equipment used to ward off the evil eye, diseases, the power of evil magic, and other demonic activities. They were used even by physicians in their work of curing disease.[15] Among the most powerful amulets were those on which were inscribed the name of God, or names of the angels, or selected passages of sacred Scripture with power to thwart demonic activities. Often these were inscribed on leather, or parchment (to be carried in a leather bag or a hollow stick), or on metal. The phylacteries apparently had as their major purpose the warding off of maleficent spirits of all kinds. The Mezuza, or passages of Scripture placed upon the doorposts, and the fringes on the Jewish garments served a similar purpose. In fact, so prevalent was the practice of employing amulets in this way in Mishnaic times that the "amulet psychology" was an accepted and pervasive social attitude.[16] In the later talmudic material and especially in the incantation formulae inscribed on bowls in late Babylonian Judaism we find these means of protection developed into a network that involved all Jewish life.[17] But the fundamental significance was the same among the Palestinian Jews of our period. The hostile forces which swarmed around them and threatened their welfare at every step must be guarded against in every possible way. And these amulets formed convenient and ever-present protection for every member of the household.

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[10] Cf. Test Sim. 3:5; Benj. 5:2; Ep. of James 4:7 f.

[11] Test. Jos. 6:1-7; cf. T. Gad 5:9.

[12] Sifre Deut. 45; Kiddushin 30b; G.F. Moore's trans., in Judaism (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), I.490. Cf. Test. Asher 3:2; Pesikta 187a; Berachoth 5a; Weber, Jüdische Theologie (2d. ed, Leipzig, 1897).

[13] Kohler, The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church (New York, 1929), pp. 238 f.; pp. 30 f. with source citations; Tos. Ber. III.20; Chull. 7b; Nedar 32a; Debarim rabba, 4.

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[14] See pp. 141 f. above; cf. Judges 8:21; II Macc. 12:40; Blau, op. cit., pp. 86-96. They were even more prominent in non-Jewish circles.

[15] Blau, op. cit., p. 92; cf. Kennedy, "Charms and Amulets (Hebrew)," ERE, III.439-41; Elworthy, "Evil Eye," ERE, V.612a.

[16] Strack and Billerbeck, op. cit., IV. 1.529-32; Kohler, op. cit., pp. 61-64; Gaster, "Charms and Amulets (Jewish)," ERE, III.451-55, give fuller accounts with sources. For the use of amulets in more modern times see W.L. Nash, "A Hebrew Amulet against Disease," Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, XXVIII (1906), 182-85.

IV. Scripture

Both the written and the spoken words of Scripture, especially certain passages, were regarded as efficacious for warding off or expelling demons. Reference has already been made to the Tephillin and the Mezuza. In Deuteronomy 6:6,8 f. we read this command of Yahweh to his people,

> And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart....And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of they house, and upon thy gates.

This injunction which no doubt had great moral significance for the author, was followed literally and understood realistically by the common people. What could be so powerful to safeguard them against constant menacing influences as the words and the name of Yahweh their God! In the light of the prevailing political, social and intellectual environment from the promulgation of this law to talmudic times such an interpretation was not only natural but practically inevitable. This is further supported by the meaning of the terms applied to these objects. Both "Tephillin" in Hebrew and "Phylacteries" in Greek refer to their protective character.[18] It is also significant to note that they were not to be worn on sabbaths or holy days, which were themselves protective, nor at the Temple. They were worn all day (at other times) by the Palestinian Jews.[19]

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[17] See Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), for a wealth of valuable material.

[18] Cf. Kohler, OSC, pp. 61 f.

The passages used in these phylacteries were Exodus 13:1-10,11-16; Deuteronomy 6:4-9; 11:13-21.[20] This includes the famous "Shema" which was repeated twice daily by every pious Jew, and regarded as so efficacious in keeping away all kinds of demons.[21] Other Scripture tests, whose recital likewise proved powerful, included: Exodus 14:19-21, which supposedly contained the mystical name three times.[22] Exodus 15:26, mighty in exorcism;[23] Leviticus 1:1 and 13:9, to cure leprosy;[24] Malachi 3:3, to turn a bad dream into a good one;[25] Psalm 29:3-10, to protect one when drinking water on the dangerous nights, Wednesday and the sabbath;[26] Psalms 91 and 92, to drive the *massikin* from the world;[27] Zechariah 3:2 to keep away the angel of death;[28] Psalm 91, to be recited before sleeping at night, for driving away the demons;[29] and the priestly blessing of Numbers 6:24-26 as a protection against the evil eye, the *yeser* *hara*, evil thoughts, the Liliths and the *massikin*.[30] Other passages of Scripture were later used for similar purposes.

Passages containing the name of God were especially powerful against demons, and the more often the name was repeated the more efficacious it was. As in the case of other methods considered, this practice increased during the later talmudic period, especially in Babylonian circles. The Liber Josuae says that the Samaritans engaged in the reading of the Law in the presence of possessed persons to drive out the demons and heal diseases.[31] A Targum on Cant. 8:1 shows the official rabbinical recognition of what had been the popular attitude on phylacteries for centuries:

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[19] Blau, *DAZ*, p. 151 and n. 5; Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, (2d ed., London, 1911), p. 426.

[20] Oesterley, Trans. of *Tractate Shabbath* (New York, 1927), p. 56, note.

[21] Berach. 5a; for the same idea in later times *see* Strack and Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, IV. I.528 f.

[22] Gaster, "Charms and Amulets (Jewish)," *ERE*, III.454a.

[23] Mishn. Sanh. XI.

[24] Sanh. 101a.

[25] Berach. 55b.

[26] Blau, *DAZ*, p. 71.

[27] Sifra Lev. 26:6.

[28] Berach. 51a; cf. Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," *HDB*, I.592f.

[29] Schebuoth 15b.

[30] Sifre 12a; Weber, *JT*, pp. 255 f.; Blau, *DAZ*, p. 91 and n. 6.

> The community of Israel saith: 'I am chosen from among the heathen nations because I bind the tephellin on my left hand and about my head,...and on the upper third of the right doorpost next the lintel, in order that evil spirits may have no power to do me injury.[32]

V. The Name of God

Without question the divine name was regarded by the Jews as the most powerful means to be used against all hostile forces. Practically all of the methods already considered owed their efficacy to the fact that they were in one way or another the forms or channels of expression of the power of Yahweh. In antiquity a name was of far greater significance than with us. It was a reality, a sort of entity, practically synonymous with the person whom it designated. It was inherent with tremendous power for good or ill. The person who had possession of a name was equipped with much of the power wielded by the owner of the name or was able to conquer him with this weapon. In Genesis 32:27-29, the story of Jacob's wrestling with the divine being, each sought to know the other's name in order to gain power over him.[33] With this attitude toward every name, it is natural that the name of the deity should be regarded with special awe and even fear. It must not be used carelessly; it was too highly "charged" with divine potency to be used indiscriminately. This explains the great reluctance of the Jews to speak the divine name, and the practice of various forms of circumlocution in referring to the deity in early Christian times.

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[31] See Chronicon Samaritanum: Liber Josuae, 23, ed. T. Juynboll (Leyden, 1848); cited in Montgomery, The Samaritans, p. 234, n. 132. Mr. C.D. Hayes, a friend of the writer, relates that in Yunnan Province, China, in 1912, a group of American missionaries read the Scripture and prayed for the release of one of their number from the devil who possessed her. This occurred repeatedly and was considered very efficacious.

[32] Quoted by Charles, Rev., ICC (Edinburgh, 1920), I.362, n. 2. For protection of the house, its occupants and furnishings, Montgomery's AITN is instructive. Inverted bowls inscribed with Scripture passages, the names of gods and angels, exorcism formulae, etc. were placed at the four corners of the dwellings. Cf. also H.C. Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, 2d ed. (New York, 1906), for other apotropaic and riddance rites at a dwelling place.

The Deuteronomist urges his readers to use the name of Yahweh in oaths, to guarantee their validity.[34] In I Enoch 55:2 is a statement that Yahweh observed the same practice: "The Head of Days sware by His great name." The same book[35] mentions a hidden name of tremendous power. Kasbeel, the "chief of the oath" in the heavenly hierarchy earnestly requested Michael,

> ...to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akae in the hand of Michael.

Whether this secret name was some especially potent designation for the deity is not definitely stated but it seems probable.

Those who used the divine name improperly would suffer a heavy penalty, even though the sin were committed in secret.[36]

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[33] For the significance of the name in ancient Semitic life see Sayce, Hibbert Lectures (New York, 1887), pp. 302-7; Heitmüller, In Namen Jesu (Göttingen, 1903), especially Part II, Chapter I; Pedersen, Israel (London, 1926), pp. 245-59.

[34] Deut. 10:20, et. al.

[35] I Enoch 69:13-15.

[36] Pirke Aboth IV.5; Herford's trans. (New York, 1925), p. 99.

Exodus 20:7 is a strict prohibition against using the name of deity for any evil purpose, undoubtedly referring to practices as curses and sinister magical performances. In Sanh. X. 1 the whispering of the name of the Jewish God, or of any foreign deity, was forbidden in healing.[37] "The man who mutters the name as it is spelled" is to be denied a share in the Age to Come, according to Abba Saul in the Mishna.[38] Cursing of father or mother in the name of God was punishable by death.[39] This was because the curse, accompanied by the divine name, was so powerful as to be disastrous in its evil consequences.

On the other hand, the proper use of the name of the deity was very beneficial. The invocation of the sacred name was the element in a prayer or blessing that made it effective. Joshua ben Levi says, in the name of Phinehs ben Yair,

> The prayers of Israel are not answered in this world because people do not know the use of the ineffable name, but in the world to come God will impart to them that knowledge, for it says: 'My people shall know My name,' and likewise: 'Because he hath known My name, he will call upon Me, and I will answer him.'[40]

Great stress was placed upon the use of the name of Yahweh in benedictions, down to a late period.[41] Late traditions also ascribes the use of the ineffable name to the Essenes, for the purpose of making their prayers more effective.[42]

The sacred name was very efficacious for healing purposes[43] and for performing great deeds of power and magic.[44] The author of I Enoch 69:13-25 speaks of a powerful name, used in an oath, which gives control over the depths, holds the stars to their courses and brings mastery over cosmic powers.[45] Sanh. 67b says that the right arrangement of the letters of the divine name brought about the creation of its own accord.[46] Many stories of the marvelous, magical power of the name over every force in the universe were current in later Judaism, all of which bear witness to the tremendous significance which this point of view carried.[47] Targ. Jonath. Ex. 28:30 promises help to anyone who will speak the divine name in time of need. Even as early as the Old Testament period the name of Yahweh was held to be efficacious in preserving the righteous from plagues, pestilences, human enemies and wild animals.[48] In the later talmudic materials are numerous citations of magical cures and other miracles performed by the use of either the Tetragrammaton or some of the secret forms of the divine name. The latter had 12, 42 or 72 letters and were frequently concealed in an abracadabra of variations.[49] These late rabbinic stories wove the web of magic around many of the striking events in Hebrew history, making Abraham, Moses, David, Daniel and other heroes great wonder-workers through the mighty divine weapon ever at their disposal.[50]

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[37] Cf. Case, *Jesus* (Chicago, 1927), p. 358 and n. 1.

[38] Sanh. 10:1; 90a; Tos. Sanh. 12:9; Moore, *Judaism*, I. 426 and ns. 3, 4.

[39] Sanh. 66a; Sifra 90d; Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 51.

[40] Isa. 52:6; Ps. 91:14 f.; *see* Midr. Teh., *op. cit.* and Pes. R. 22, at the close; Ref. in Kohler, *OSC*, p. 31; cf. p. 49.

[41] Tos. Berachoth VII.20; IX.8c (5d); Williams' trans. (London, 1921), pp. 87 f.

[42] Taan. 2:10; cf. Midr. Teh. to Pss. 36:8; 77:12; 91:2; Kohler, *OSC*, p. 131. Cf. *infra* pp. 202 f. on Essenic exorcisms.

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[43] Tos. Hullin II.21-23; Fiebig, Jüd. Wundergesch (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 35 f.

[44] *See* Kohler, *OSC*, pp. 49-52 for discussion and references.

[45] *See* Blau, *DAZ*, pp. 117-23 and Heitmüller, *INJ*, pp. 132-38 for numerous examples of magical power through the divine name in Jewish tradition.

[46] Blau, *DAZ*, p. 27, n. 1. For variant traditions *see* Heitmüller, *INJ*, pp. 133 f. and notes.

[47] *See* Heitmüller, *loc. cit.*; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* (2 Aufl., Berlin, 1906), pp. 355 ff.; Kohler, *OSC*, p. 51 and sources there cited.

[48] Ps. 91:14. Cf. pp. 217-19 *infra* on the name as a seal for protection.

[49] Moore, *op. cit.*, I.426 and n. 1. According to Ab. Zarah 27b; Tos. Hullin 2:22 f., Jacob of Kefar Sekanya performed many cures through the use of potent names and charms.

The use of a name as a seal was also current in ancient Jewish as well as Gentile circles. The name of the master, or the deity or some appropriate representative symbol of it thereof was branded upon the forehead, the hand, or some other part of the body. It marked the individual as belonging to a certain master (often a deity) and furnished him with all the protection which the name carried. This protection might be against human enemies, but it often guaranteed security against attacks of hostile demons.[51] We recall the Apocalyptist's picture of the hosts of the faithful sealed with the divine name to guard them against the Antichrist and his demonic cohorts.[52] Traces of this point of view are found also in the Old Testament and the Talmud. The mark of Cain may very well have been a tribal cult mark - the name of Yahweh or some symbol thereof - to designate him as a devotee of Yahweh. It was definitely meant as a protection against all his enemies, no doubt including the hostile superhuman forces.[53] In Ezekiel 9:4 the prophet, in his portrayal of the destruction coming upon Jerusalem, speaks of the men who are sealed with the divine seal burned on their foreheads as safe from the general disaster. Isaiah 44:5 pictures a similar situation with men wearing the name of Yahweh inscribed on their hands as a prophylactic against all dangers. Chullin 68a says that the person who had control of the powerful divine name had in it a seal that was efficacious in protecting him from all demonic and other dangers.[54]

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[50] In addition to sources already cited, see M. Gaster, "The Sword of Moses," Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1896), pp. 149-98; L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1909-13).

[51] Charles, Rev., I.198 ff. and n. 1, p. 198 f. gives illustrations with primary and secondary sources.

[52] Rev. 7:4-8; 9:4; see Charles, loc. cit.

[53] Heitmüller, INJ, p. 174 and notes suggests this theory.

[54] Op. cit., pp. 174, 143 and notes.

Solomon, whose mighty works of magic and exorcism were a favorite subject of Jewish legend, performed these wonders with the aid of a magic ring on which was inscribed the Tetragrammaton.[55] One of the inscribed bowls from Nippur, published by Montgomery, gives an interesting parallel. The formula is for the protection of a family against a whole horde of evil spirits. It is made powerful "By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable Name, since the days of the world, the six days of creation."[56]

The name of the Jewish God was also used for exorcism proper. It was perfectly natural that the name of their deity should be thus used as he would be the supreme power that could be invoked in driving out the evil intruders. In Zechariah 3:2 Satan is rebuked in the name of Yahweh.[57] The author of Jub. 10:12 ff. apparently knows of a book of effective formulae for use in exorcisms, which he says the angels revealed to Noah. The natural assumption is that the name of Yahweh had an important place in such a volume.[58] When Jesus is accused of casting out demons in the name of Beelzebub, he replies (in part), "By whom do your sons cast them out?"[59] The implication is clear that they claim the sanction of Yahweh for their activity, and must have used his name. Acts 19:13-18 tells of the seven sons of a Jewish priest Sceva who were attempting to cast out demons in the name of Jesus.[60] But it seems quite obvious that they had been pursuing their trade as exorcists for some time before they knew anything about either Jesus or Paul. Probably they used books of magical formulae such as were burned in Ephesus at the conclusion of this incident. In such collections the name of Yahweh must have had a prominent place.[61] Berach. 5a tells of the power of the name of God against evil spirits. When one quotes it in the Shema he has a two-edged sword against the demonic hordes.[62] Sifre 24a speaks of the efficacy of the divine name in adjuring the evil impulse, while later talmudic sources relate instances of successful exorcisms of the yeser hara in the same way.[63]

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[55] Gittin 68a,b; cf. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922), for text and detailed criticism. *See also* Josephus, Ant. viii.2.5.

[56] Text no. 11; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 170.

[57] Note the close parallel in the statements of Jesus' exorcisms, Mark 1:25; 3:12; 9:25; cf. 4:39; Luke 4:39.

[58] This is based upon the usages noted above in the immediately preceding pages, and in its prominence in later formulae.

[59] Matt. 12:27.

[60] *See* Burkitt's suggestion, "Professor Torrey on Acts," *JTS*, XX (*1919*), 324, n. 3 that the term ἀρχιερεύσ in Acts 19:14 "means a man who professed to know the true pronunciation of the

According to Josephus (Ant. viii.2.5) Solomon had long been famous as a great exorcist. Much of his power was to be traced to his use of the ineffable Name. This is repeatedly confirmed by talmudic sources.[64] In Paris MS 2316 the exorcist appeals to Solomon's great example as an exorcist who wrought in the name of Lord Sabaoth. The same document names seventeen holy angels whom Solomon also invoked in the Hebrew language in his conquests of the many demons whom he expelled.[65] Another portion uses the names of Michael and of the παντοκράτορος θεοῦ, evidently another reference to the Hebrew deity. McCown quotes an incantation to be used for securing hidden treasure, which

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Tetragrammaton from family tradition, and thereby to work magical cures." Whether or not we accept this interpretation, our conclusion here is valid.

[61] Cf. Montgomery, AITN; Dieterich, Abraxas (Leipzig, 1891); McCown, The Testament of Solomon; Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904); Heitmüller, INJ; for ample evidence of the use of this name in all sorts of Jewish and Gentile formulae.

[62] See Heitmüller, INJ, pp. 142 f.

[63] Cf. Weber, Jüdische Theologie (2 Aufl., Leipzig, 1897), p. 238.

[64] Ab. Zar. 12a; Sot. 48b; Gitt 68a, b. Cf. Edersheim, LTJM, II.761.

[65] Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 295 and n. 1; p. 298 for text of these formulae.

couples the Tetragrammaton with mystical names.[66]

Paris MS 3009 contains the following interesting combination of reference to the power of Solomon, and invocation of the power of the Hebrew God.

> I adjure thee, every daemonic spirit, say whatsoever thou art. For I adjure thee by the seal which Solomon laid upon the tongue of Jeremiah and he spake. And say thou whatsoever thou art, in heaven, or of the air, or on earth, or under the earth or below the ground, or an Ebusaean, or a Chersaean, or a Pharisee. Say whatsoever thou art, for I adjure thee by God the light-bringer, invincible, who knoweth what is in the heart of all life.... (Here follows a long list of God's great historic deeds, especially in relation to the history of Israel).[67]

Dieterich suggests the probable influence of the Essenes upon this papyrus fragment, as well as expressions of Pythagorean, Orphic and other Hellenistic circles of thought.[68] This would be in harmony with the apparent implications in Josephus[69] about the magical and exorcistic practices of this esoteric Jewish sect. It seems probable, as Kohler suggests, that the Essenes were the group that preserved the Solomonic traditions and formulae.

The use of the name of the Jewish God, accompanied by a recital of his great historic deeds, was common among Gentile as well as Jewish exorcists. Origen is an interesting witness of its usage in his time.

> ...not only do those belonging to the Jewish nation employ in their prayers to God and in the exorcising of demons the words: 'God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Jacob,' but so also do most of those who occupy themselves with magical rites. For there is found in treatises on magic in many countries such an invocation of God and assumption of the

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[66] Harl. MS 5596, f. 30 al; in Test. of Sol., p. 84, n. 2. In part it reads, ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, δαίμονες, εἰς τα ὀνοματα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ τετραγράμματον ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγλα· ἀγλαατα· ἀγλαΐ· ἀγλαωρ.

[67] Text. in Dieterich, op. cit., p. 139 f.; trans. by Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East (Eng. tr. by Strachan, New York, 1910), pp. 257 f. A little farther along in the original the "great God Sabaoth" is invoked.

[68] See pp. 141-66 for his discussion.

[69] Wars ii.8.7.; cf. pp. 202 f. infra for fuller comment.

> divine name, as implies a familiar use of it by these men in their dealings with demons....
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> Moreover, the phrases, 'the God of Israel,' and 'the God of the Hebrews,' and 'the God who drowned in the Red Sea the king of Egypt and the Egyptians,' are formulae frequently employed against demons and certain wicked powers. And we learn the history of the names and their interpretation from those Hebrews, who in their national literature and national tongue dwell with pride upon these things, and explain their meaning.[70]

VI. The Names of the Angels

Closely associated with the use of the name of God, in both principle and practice, was invocation in the names of the angels. In the development of post-exilic angelology much attention was given to these heavenly beings as guardian angels. This easily came to imply protection of individuals against the most sinister and insidious foes that beset men, viz., the demons. And it was a natural step to the conception of the angels as powers through whom these evil spirits could be exorcised. This practice arose particularly after the development of the angelic hierarchy, with the great archangels as general overseers of specialized functions in relation to men.[71]

In the intertestamental literature Raphael and Michael are especially prominent in this protective role, though many names are added in the later developments. In I Enoch 20:1 ff., where the author lists the seven holy angels who watch over the various parts of creation, Raphael is the guardian who is set "over the spirits of men." In another portion of the same work we read, "And the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is

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[70] Origen, Cels. IV.34; trans. in Legge, Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1915), II, 34 f.; ANCL, XXIII.197.

[71] For developments of Jewish angelology see Blau and Kohler, "Angelology," JE, I.583-97; Bousset, RJ, 3d ed., pp. 320-31 and sources there cited. It is particularly important in I Enoch.

Raphael."[72] He plays this role in a very concrete way in the book of Tobit. Here he gives specific counsel and direction to Tobias in the methods of healing his father's blindness and expelling the demon Asmodeus from Sarah's household. Both of these tasks are performed successfully in keeping with the angel's commands. After Asmodeus is driven away to Egypt, Raphael binds him there to insure immunity from any further attacks. According to Jub. 10:5-13, Raphael taught Noah many remedies for human ills, which he wrote in a book of healing similar to that ascribed to Solomon.

Michael undergoes a more extensive evolution in his functions. According to Charles,[73] the most important are: (1) Guardian angel of Israel, who fights for them against the guardian angels of the Gentile nations (Dan. chs. 10-12); (2) Patron angel of the saints in Israel (I Enoch 20:5); (3) Intercessor for the righteous in all nations (Test Levi 5:7;) the mediator between God and man (Test. Dan. 6:2); (4) With these changes in his functions, Michael's chief antagonist becomes Mastema (Jub. 10:8,11), or Beliar (i.e., Satan, Test. Dan 6:1; Test. Benj. 6:1; Rev. 12:7);[74] (5) The figure who intervenes in behalf of the righteous in the last times, the time of greatest need (e.g., to free them from Antiochus);[75] (6) The great champion of the kingdom of God, who will cast down Satan in the last great struggle between the forces of righteousness and those of evil. In many of these functions the enmity between Michael and the evil spirits is clearly set forth, and invocation of his mighty power against them is most natural.[76]

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[72] I Enoch 40:9.

[73] *Rev.*, *ICC*, I.323 f., *q.v.* for fuller discussion and source citations.

[74] Cf. Charles, *Test. XII Patr.* (New York, 1917), pp. 39 f., 132; Lueken, *Michael* (Göttingen, 1898), pp. 23-30; Bousset, *RJ*, pp. 320 f.

[75] Dan. 12:1; I Enoch 90:14; Ass. Moses 10:2; Dan. 8:11 (LXX); II Enoch 22:6; 33:10.

It seems probable that the Essenes used the names of the angels in exorcistic practices. While we do not have specific instances in our extant records which we can identify as exclusively Essenic, evidence points in that direction. It indicates further that such practices were carried on as early as the writing of the Gospels if not earlier. Josephus tells us that any one who became a member of this cult must swear "to preserve with like care the books of their sect and the names of the angels."[77] Evidently these expressions refer to the keeping of some secret lore of great sanctity that must be maintained inviolate. What more natural than that they should have been books of formulae to be used in exorcising demons and performing other magical wonders. The "names of the angels" apparently mean not merely the regular names which were more or less common property, but especially those secret mystical appellations which had such tremendous efficacy when used with the proper name. These would be preserved with the greatest secrecy as the exorcist's "tricks of the trade," indispensable to success. The term may very well imply another aspect of the exorcist's art - the esoteric knowledge of the particular angelic names and formulae to be used for overcoming certain specified demons. This close relationship between particular demons and the angels who have power over them is an outgrowth of the angelology in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. It finds its most striking expression in the Testament of Solomon. Here each demon who appears before Solomon is forced to reveal his name, his functions, and the angel by whom he can be frustrated.[78] Perhaps we have in the Essenes the connecting link in this development. Conybeare suggests one aspect of this connection in his discussion on the demonology of the Testament,

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[76] See e.g., Test. Levi 5:6; Test. Benj. 6:1 and Charles' note in Test. XII. Patr., p. 205.

[77] Wars ii.8.7.

> The real analogue of the faith here revealed is to be found among the Palestinian Essenes who cherished as a secret lore 'the names of the angels'....The same Essenes had great skill as leeches, because they had sought and found roots and qualities of stones which warded off disease.[79]

Kohler deals with the other phase of it in the conjecture that the apocalyptic books were products of the Essenes rather than the Pharisees. He adds,

> Also the angelological and demonological systems were mainly products of theirs; they made special use of them in their miraculous cures. Likewise did they make use of the ineffable Name to make their prayers more effective.[80]

One need not accept the first part of the theory in order to see in the Essenic use of angelic names the practices of healing and exorcism, which seems a logical conclusion from the facts presented.

The Testament of Solomon which has an elaborate system of exorcism through the use of the names of the angels, though composite, has incorporated much Jewish material. It would probably be closer to the actual facts to make the main structure Jewish, with Christian and Hellenistic elements built into its present form.[81] Conybeare's suggestion, that the Jewish original of our extant Testament may have been the collection of incantations which Josephus attributed to Solomon, seems quite reasonable. In any case the document provides valuable evidence of exorcism from our period.

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[78] See McCown, The Testament of Solomon; or Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," JQR, XI (1898) 1-45.

[79] Op. cit., p. 8.

[80] OSC, p. 131. Sources are Taan. 2, 10; cf. Mid. Teh. to Pss. 36:8; 77:12; 91:2.

[81] Cf. McCown, op. cit., pp. 51 f., 59-78.

In this work the knowledge of the names of the angels that are efficacious for conquering the various demons furnishes the key to mastering them. A few examples will illustrate. Solomon first secures from Michael a magical ring which enables him to bring the demons into his presence. When Asmodeus has appeared and given his name, his functions, and the star under which he belongs, Solomon replies,

> And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaoth saying: 'Fear God, Asmodeus, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated.' But he said: 'By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God.'

When Tephras, the evil spirit that is responsible for disastrous fires, has given the necessary preliminary information the king speaks,

> And I said to him, 'I am Solomon;' when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?' But he said to me, 'By the angel's, by whom also the third-day's fever is lulled to rest.' So I questioned him, and said: 'And by what name?' And he answered: 'That of the archangel Azael.' And I summoned the archangel Azael, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

A female demon appears in answer to the magical command. Solomon asks her name.

> And she said: 'I am called among men Obizuth; and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in child-birth. And divining the hour I take my stand; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit, of myriad names and many shapes.' ...And I cunningly said: 'Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?' But she answered me: 'By the angel of God called Afarof, which is interpreted Raphael, by which I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640.'[82]

One of the most interesting portions of the work deals with "the thirty-six elements, the world-rulers of this darkness."[83] When brought before Solomon they likewise express their impotence before certain of the angels. The first demon said to Solomon,

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[82] Conybeare's translation, op. cit., sections 24, 33, 58 f.; pp. 21, 23 f., 30.

> I, O Lord, am called Ruax,....But let me only hear the words, 'Michael imprison Ruax,' and I at once retreat.
> (The second) - I am called Barsafael,....If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison Barsafael,' at once I retreat.
> (The third) - I am called Arotosael....Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison Arotosael' (sic), at once I retreat.
> (The eighth) - I am called Belbel. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Arael, imprison Belbel,' I at once retreat.
> (The ninth) - I am called Kurtael....If I hear the words, 'Iaoth, imprison Kurtael,' I at once retreat.
> (The tenth) - I am called Metathiax....If I hear the words, 'Adonael, imprison Metathiax,' I at once retreat.
> (The eleventh) - I am called Katanikotael. I create strife and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard temper. If any one would be at peace in his home let him write on seven leaves of laurel the names of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieo, sons of Sabaoth, in the name of the great God let him shut up Katanikotael. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat.[84]

The use of the angelic names or of some form of the name of the Jewish deity is found in almost every instance throughout this long document. Non-Jewish influences are clearly seen in many parts of it, but in spite of them, Yahweh and his angels are powerful heavenly beings whose names are indispensable for the conquest of the demonic legions pictured here. The Testament of Solomon presents clear evidence of the prevalence and importance of exorcism in Judaism of about the New Testament period.[85]

Emphasis upon the conquest of demons through the use of the names of the angels is lacking in the earlier portions of the Talmud. Later sections, however, put some stress upon it. They include both protection of men by their guardian angels,[86] and overcoming those evil spirits that have assailed their victims.[87] The use of the divine name is generally coupled with those of the angels.

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[83] The term κοσμοκράτορες is used. Cf. Eph. 6:12; Origen, *Cels.*, VIII.58.

[84] Sections 73-82, *passim*, pp. 35 f.

[85] For a study of the original source of this work, *see* McCown, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90.

[86] Tanch. Misch. 19; cf. Weber, *JT*, 2d ed., p. 171.

The bowl inscriptions from late Babylonian Judaism, and other extant magical formulae abound in the use of angelic powers. In addition to the archangels whom we know from the inter-testamental and biblical literature, are a number of distinctly non-Jewish powers. The syncretism of these documents is as noticeable in this as in any other features. In one of them the exorcist operates in the names of Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Asiel, Hermes, Yahu-in-Yahu, "the great Abbahu and the great Abrakas (Abraxas), the guardian of good spirits and destroyer of evil spirits."[88] Such combinations of Jewish and Hellenistic superhuman powers (both angelic and deities proper) is characteristic of much of the later material in this field.[89] Such usage of Jewish names became even more common outside than inside Palestine, though it was present in both. It clearly shows the great importance attached to Jewish exorcistic procedure in the ancient world.

VII. Other Powerful Names: Jesus and Jewish Heroes

Jewish exorcism in the name of Jesus is also attested by a number of sources. Mark 9:38 tells us of a man who cast out demons in Jesus' name, though he was not a member of the apostolic group. The implication is clear that he was a Jew, though the extent of his activities is not indicated.[90] It also seems very probable that his adoption of this practice was based on familiarity with its operation and efficacy. Jewish exorcism must have been at least fairly well known in those circles in Palestine. The attempt to exorcise a demon through the name of Jesus was made at least once by the Jewish sons of Sceva in Ephesus.[91] Probably it had been carried on repeatedly by others as well as by those concerned with this incident. It is reasonable to assume that these men, already experienced in the arts of exorcism, with many available formulae and powerful names, merely added the name of Jesus to their "stock in trade" as another mighty weapon in their warfare with the demons. Such practices were regularly followed by exorcists in the Roman world at this time, and the sequel to this incident reveals it here in Ephesus.[92]

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[87] Yalk, Vol. II.166c, d, par. 1001; p. 167; cf. Edersheim, LTJM, II.754.

[88] Montgomery, AITN, Text No. 7, pp. 147 f. Many others are quite similar.

[89] See Stübe, Jüdisch-Babylonische Zaubertexte (Halle, 1895), pp. 23 ff., *passim*; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 292 ff.; Dieterich, *Abraxas*; Lueken, *Michael*, pp. 28, 78.

[90] It is of course possible that the reference here is to Paul as the follower of Jesus who failed to conform to the

There are a few references in the Talmud to healing among the Jews in the name of Jesus. A Christian healed a nephew of Joshua ben Levi by using the name of Jesus. Joshua condemned it strongly saying that death would have been preferable.[93] At another time Rabbi Eliezer ben Dama, a nephew of Rabbi Ishmael, was bitten by a poisonous snake. Jacob of Kefar Sekanya offered to cure him through the use of the name of Jesus. Rabbi Ishmael strongly opposed it, as being forbidden by the Law. R. Eliezer insisted that it was permissible and offered to bring proof of his position. But before he could find his proof, he died from

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customs of the original twelve disciples. Even if this be held, we still have the practice carried on by a Jew, and one who had his rabbinical training in Jerusalem.

[91] Acts 19:13-18.

[92] Verse 19, which tells of the great bonfire of the magicians' books. They were no longer needed now that they had a neverfailing power in the name of Jesus.

[93] J. Sabb. 13d, 40; Blau, DAZ, 29 f. and n. 1, p. 30; cf. B. Heller, "Beschwörung," Enc. Jud., Vol. IV, Col. 362; J. Sab. XIV., 14d; J. Ab. Zar. II.40d.

the poison. R. Ishmael said, "Happy art thou, Ben Dama, that thou hast gone in peace (that thy body is clean and thy soul has gone forth in purity) and hast not broken down the fence of the Wise."[94]

In some cases the names of great heroes of Hebrew history were included to give the incantation added efficacy. Montgomery cites a Palestinian mortuary charm in which the magician gives his credentials as follows: "With the wand of Moses and the plate of Aaron and the seal of Solomon and the shield of David and the mitre of the chief priest."[95] A number of the Nippur incantation texts have formulae in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Perakia, one of the early Zugoth (or Pairs) who handed down official Jewish tradition from the Great Synagogue to later times.[96] The use of the names of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob also finds expression in Jewish exorcism, and is adapted also by Gentiles. Origen's testimony reveals something of the weight which these names carried in his time,

> It is certain, however, that the Jews trace their genealogy back to the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And the names of these individuals possess such efficacy, when united with the name of God, that not only do those belonging to the nation employ in their prayers to God, and in the exorcising of demons, the words, 'God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob,' but so also do almost all those who occupy themselves with incantations and magical rites. For there is found in treatises on magic in many countries such an invocation of God, and assumption of the divine name, as implies a familiar use of it by these men in their dealings with demons.[97]

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[94] T. Hul. II.22 f.; B. Ab. Zar. 27b; J. Shab., end of XIV. p. 14d; J. Ab. Zar. II.2 (p. 40d, 41a); Quot. in Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth (New York, 1925), p. 40 and n. 80.

[95] JAOS, 1911, p. 272; for the identification of the exorcist with Moses see Montgomery's sources on p. 47, fn. 5, of AITN.

[96] Montgomery, AITN, p. 46; cf. texts nos. 8,9,17,32,33,34.

[97] Origen, Cels. IV.33; trans. in ANCL, XXIII, 195 f. Cf. Justin, Dialogue with Trypho, ch. 85.

The choice of names for conquering demons by the Jews seems based on this principle: the supreme power for this purpose is in Yahweh their God, next come the archangels, and lastly the great heroes of Israel's history. In the case of human beings they must be men of great piety through whom the mighty power of their deity can work effectively.

VIII. Miscellaneous Practices

Several other forms of procedure were sometimes followed. Tobias used fumigation to drive away Asmodeus. When he had caught a special kind of fish he saved the heart and liver for this purpose, according to Raphael's directions. The angel said, "Touching the heart and the liver, if a demon or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed." Tobias, at the critical moment,

> ...took the ashes of the incense and put the heart and the liver of the fish thereupon and made a smoke therewith. But when the demon smelled the smell, he fled into the uppermost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him.[98]

This practice was current during the latter part of the first century in Palestine. Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai, a contemporary of the Gospel writers, and the leader in the reconstruction of Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem, is familiar with it. The following conversation is recorded between Jochanan and a Gentile.

> J. b. Z., 'Has an evil spirit never entered into you? Have you never seen a man into whom an evil spirit had entered?'
> Gen., 'Yes.'
> J. b. Z., 'What do you do with him?'
> Gen., 'Roots are taken and smoked under him, and he is surrounded with water, whereupon the spirit flees.'[99]

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[98] Tobit 6:7 f.; 8:2 f.

[99] Pesikta 40a and Parallels; Quot. in Blau, DAZ, p. 31.

Josephus, in a well-known passage, refers to a root which is very effective in expelling demons. He thus describes the method of procuring it and its value:

> Persons dig around it, till the hidden part of the root is very small; they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog starts to follow the person who tied him, the root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if a victim instead of the man that would take the plant away. Nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into his hands. Yet after all this risk in getting it, it is only sought after on account of one property it has, that if it be only brought to sick persons it quickly drives away those who are called demons (who are no other than the spirits of the wicked) that enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them.[100]

A root with magical properties also had an important part in the exorcism performed by a Jew named Eleazar in the presence of Vespasian and his army. This incident is likewise related by Josephus.

> The manner of the cure was as follows: he put a ring that had under its seal one of those sorts of roots mentioned by Solomon to the nostrils of the demoniac, and then drew the demon out through his nostrils as he smelt it: and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured the demon to return into him no more, still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he had composed. And Eleazar, wishing to persuade and to show to the spectators that he had such a power, used to set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and so to let the spectators know that he had left the man. And when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly.[101]

Here, as in many other cases already cited, the combination of several elements is necessary for success. The root, the ring with the proper seal, the name of Solomon, the recital of the right formulae - all these are interwoven into the technique of the art.

The Talmud attributes to Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai the exorcism of a demon from the Roman Emperor's daughter, with the mere naming of the demon, coupled with the command to leave the girl.

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[100] Josephus, Wars, vii.6.3; trans. by Whiston, rev. by Shilleto (London, 1890), V, 144.

[101] Josephus, Antiquities, viii.2.5; trans. by Whiston, rev. by Shilleto (London, 1900), II, 79 f.

> This rabbi was on his way with another to the Court of Rome, to secure the repeal of an edict hostile to the Jewish religion, when a demon called Ben Temelion met him. 'May I come with you?' asked the demon. 'Let the portent come, shencesoever it be,' answered the rabbi. Thereupon the supposed spirit hurried on in front and entered into the daughter of the emperor, who at once went mad, raved and shrieked out continually that they must bring to her the rabbi Simeon. When he arrived he summoned the froward spirit to go forth, saying: 'Depart out of her, Ben Tamelion,' and the evil spirit obeyed.[102]

In the later portions of the Talmud are found a variety of formulae and accompanying actions to be performed to keep off or drive out the obnoxious spirits. They involve the use of magical "stunts" such as counting, repeating certain expressions a specified number of times. touching with the hand, applying spittle, the use of the circle or (and) the cross and other similar techniques.[103] Sometimes the exorcist anointed his own head with oil as a more adequate preparation for his task.[104] In Paris Papyrus 3009 the potent formulae are followed by an injunction to abstain from eating pork as a sure means of gaining control over the demons.[105] Apparently any method or any combination of procedures that was regarded as effective might be employed for ridding people of these dangerous demonic foes.

In the light of the many kinds of demons that infested Jewish life and their wide range of harmful activities it is natural to find such variety in the technique for overcoming them. But such practices were not limited strictly to private, individual cases. There were also important examples of social exorcism which must be given consideration.

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[102] Meila, fol. 17b; quoted from Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," *JQR*, IX (1896), 85. R. Simeon was one of the celebrated disciples of R. Akiba, of the middle of the 2d century A.D. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 86, says R. Eliezer, whom Josephus mentions, rather than R. Simeon, was the one who probably performed this act.

[103] Strack and Billerbeck, *Kom*. IV. I. pp. 527-35; Heller, "Beschwörung," *Enc. Jud*. IV. col. 362-5; and sources there cited for details.

[104] J. Sab. XIV. 14c; j. Mas. Sch. II.53b; Heller, *loc. cit*., col. 364.

[105] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 141.

B. Social Exorcism

In Chapter IV we noticed the social nature of the pre-exilic practices of exorcism. Many of the procedures just considered for the later period also partake of this character. Those practices which are enjoined in the Law and advocated by the official religious leaders for observance by all loyal Jews have important social significance. They not only protect individuals but also insure security and stability for the Jewish group as a whole. Included in this category we have already considered: strict obedience to the Torah in a life of genuine piety; the recital of the Shema twice daily; the regular morning and evening prayers; the reading of the Scriptures, especially those passages containing the divine name; the use of Scripture texts on the phylacteries, the doorposts, and the fringes of their garments (Tephillin, Mezuzah, and Zizit); the use of covenant salt; and prayer, both private and in the synagogue.

But, in addition to these, there were a number of the official rites of the cultus which continued to have a great deal of apotropaic significance for the Jewish people as a whole. In some cases this aspect of the cult rite is not obvious on the surface, but is clearly revealed when we get down beneath the document to the life that produced it. On certain points the evidence is not so extensive or decisive as to warrant an unqualified conclusion, but the general trend is clear. Moreover, the cumulative force of the evidence is significant in leading to our interpretation. Cult objects and practices which functioned in some way to protect the people from demonic forces include: (1) the priestly vestments; (2) the priestly blessing; (3) the use of incense; and (4) purification rituals.

I. The Priestly Vestments

In the Priestly account of the garments to be worn by the high priest, in Exodus 28 are several objects of protective significance. The bells on the skirt of the robe were very probably placed there to protect the high priest from the demons that haunted the threshold of the sanctuary.[106] That their function was originally protective is clear from the statement, "And it shall be upon Aaron to minister; and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before Jehovah, and when he cometh out, that he die not." (28:35). It is of course possible that they were to protect him from the "holiness" of Yahweh and the sacred objects of his sanctuary. But in the light of the use of bells in ancient times to ward off demons, this demonic interpretation seems the more probable.[107] In Zechariah 14:20 is the interesting parallel, where the bells on the horses are to be inscribed "holy unto Yahweh" to keep off all contaminating and harmful influences.

This use of bells as amulets persisted for centuries in Judaism. The Mishnah Tractate Shab. VI. 9 says, "Sons may go out with bands, and princes with bells (on the Sabbath), and (so, indeed, may everyone), only the wise men...speak of that which is customary."[108] Oesterley notes that both the bands tied around the shoes of boys by their fathers, and the tinkling of the bells were regarded as efficacious against evil spirits. If such significance was attributed to these objects in private life, it is reasonable to assume that they would be similarly interpreted by the populace in connection with the priestly functions.

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[106] Cf. Bennett, Exodus, NCB (Oxford, n.d.), p. 225; Driver, Exodus, Camb. Bible (Cambridge, 1911), p. 308; for parallels among other peoples see Frazer, Folklore in the O.T. (New York, 1919), III, ch. VII, pp. 446-80.

[107] Cf. Elworthy, "Evil Eye," ERE, V.614b; also his vol. on the same subject.

[108] Oesterley's trans. (New York, 1927), p. 26.

The high priest (Aaron) is also enjoined to wear an "oracle pouch" of gold, set with precious stones, upon his robe, over his heart. On each of the stones was engraved the name of one of the tribes of Israel. Then upon his mitre (or turban) was worn a gold plate with the seal engraving "Sacred to Yahweh."[109] Here again the purpose must have been largely apotropaic when inaugurated. And it comes from the post-exilic P document. In the light of the continued use of sacred names for protective purposes for so many centuries, such meaning must have been valid for multitudes in the first century of our era.[110] Since the high priest was the representative of the whole Jewish nation in the performance of his sacerdotal functions, and these were so vitally indispensable to the welfare of the nation, he needed adequate protection against Satan and his evil hosts. This was guaranteed in triple fashion by the name of Yahweh on his forehead, the names of the twelve tribes of Israel on his breastplate, and the bells on the skirt of his robe.[111]

II. The Priestly Blessing

The so-called "Aaronic blessing" of Numbers 6:24-26 had an important place in the Temple service of post-exilic Judaism.

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[109] Exodus 28:15-30,36-38.

[110] Cf. the names on the foreheads of the faithful who were "sealed" against the attacks of the satanic forces, in Rev. 3:12; 7:3 f.; 14:1 and supra pp. 196 f.; Bennett, op. cit., p. 226.

[111] There were also shoulder-plates with the names of six tribes engraved on each, verses 9-12.

It was used every morning in connection with the daily sacrifices.[112] The threefold use of the divine name (which was pronounced rather than avoided by a substitute) gave it unusual power as a prophylactic against hostile forces. "Yahweh bless thee and guard thee" - when spoken by the deity's official representative - meant protection from all harmful influences. This "word of power" uttered by the high priest implied security against the most dangerous and insidious foes of the nation - Satan and his demonic hosts.[113] This interpretation is found a number of times in the Talmud. According to Sifre 12a the blessing affords protection against demons and the yeser hara.[114] Pesikta r. refers to it as an amulet that safeguards Israel from the evil eye,[115] while Targ. jer. says it protects men from the Lilin.[116] Though these sources are late they represent an attitude which undoubtedly was already very common by the first century.

III. The Use of Incense

Did the burning of incense in connection with the public ritual have apotropaic significance? We cannot answer the question with certainty, but several facts point toward an affirmative answer. When thousands of people had been swept down by the plague (Numbers 16:44-48) the incense carried by Aaron through the multitudes stopped its devastating influences, and the rest were saved. As told by the Priestly writer, Yahweh is responsible for the destruction and when Aaron has made suitable atonement His anger is appeased and the force of the plague broken. But as in many other cases previously noted the theological interpretation of the Yahweh cult-leaders is quite different from the popular psychology.[117] Current attitudes attributed plagues to demonic influence,[118] and when the incense drove away the plague it banished the plague demons. The warding off of demons as the original purpose of incense has been suggested by modern scholars,[119] and it is used in this way by many groups at the present time. Its apotropaic function in modern Palestine is quite common.[120] In the light of ancient practices and attitudes the question arises whether the cedar-wood used in the "red heifer ceremony" of Numbers 19 did not have efficacy in driving away the demons of uncleanness.[121] In the familiar exorcism incident in Tobit the materials burned were placed upon "the ashes of the incense."[122] In the conversation of Jochanan ben Zakkai with the Gentile, the latter specifically mentioned the burning of certain roots of herbs to drive away demons from possessed people.[123] Whether they were the same materials as were used for incense is not stated nor is it of real significance for our purpose. These various incidents reveal clearly the familiarity of the Jews with incense in connection with the warding off of demons. And, while the evidence is not sufficiently conclusive to warrant an unqualified affirmation, it is enough to justify the assumption that the same practice in the official cultus had similar significance for the populace.

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[112] Cf. Gray, Num., ICC. (New York, 1903), p. 72.

[113] Of course the benediction was not limited in its scope to protection against demons.

[114] Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," HDB, I.592b; Weber, JT, p. 256; cf. p. 171.

[115] Cf. 5 (9b); Num. r. ch. 12; cf. Blau. DAZ, p. 91 and n6.

[116] Weber, op. cit., p. 255.

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[117] We are of course interested here in the social attitudes represented, not in the historicity of the incident.

[118] Cf. *supra*, pp. 119-21.

[119] G.F. Moore, *History of Religions* (New York, 1913-19), I.391, and n. 2 for sources.

[120] *Folklore* XVIII (1907), 59; MacCulloch, "Incense," *ERE*, VII.202.

[121] Cf. Eisenstein, *JE*, X.344b. In connection with the burning of the incense in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement we read, "...he (Aaron) shall put the incense upon the fire before Jehovah, that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not." (Lev. 16:13). Is this danger (which the incense averts) incurred solely because of the presence of Yahweh or are other harmful agencies there whom the incense appears or drives away?

[122] Tobit 8:2.

[123] Pesik. 40a; Blau, *DAZ*, p. 31.

IV. Ritual Purification

1. Its Exorcistic Significance

Before dealing with specific methods of purification we must consider the more basic question of the relation of demons to ritualistic defilement. Were demons the cause of, or closely associated with, ceremonial uncleanness? Was ritual purification thus to a large extent a procedure whereby these evil spirits were driven away from the individual or group that had been defiled? The whole question of ritualistic uncleanness covers too broad a field to be dealt with fully here.[124] We can consider it only from this one angle of its demonic implications.

One was ritually unclean who had had contact with a person or object that was "charged" with an "essence" or "potency" that was dangerous to the individual or his group. So long as he was in this state of ceremonial defilement he was temporarily "taboo" to others. He must observe meticulously certain set ritual requirements of purification before he could be restored to his normal status in society. The unclean person carried a dangerous contagion that must be removed for the common good. Among the common media which brought uncleanness may be mentioned certain animals, some of the sexual functions, blood (especially that which had been shed in violence), some diseases, and, above all, death. The common element in all these experiences is well presented by Farnell,

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[124] It is inseparably linked with taboo in ancient and primitive societies. See such standard works as Tylor, Primitive Culture, 2 vols., (4th ed., London, 1913); Frazer, Golden Bough, Vol. III, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," (London, 1914), and sources there cited.

> ...the stain of blood, even incurred by ruthless murder, the stain of childbirth and the sexual processes, the contagion of the corpse, are all for the same reason 'suspect' to primitive man because they involve vague and mysterious danger, not because they are associated with the concept of sin. Nor does this latter concept necessarily enter in, even when a more articulate animism has taken possession of the superstition, and the impurity means the presence of an evil spirit: the leper, the man who has come into contact with the dead, the blood-stained murderer, are all regarded as suffering from the same trouble, though in greater or less degree.[125]

Pollution through contact with these and similar sources of uncleanness was feared in Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman circles as well as by the Hebrews in the ancient world; and it still has a powerful hold upon many "primitive" groups today.[126]

Among all these ancient peoples there was a very close relationship between uncleanness and demons. The strictness of the dietary laws of the Hebrews, with their rigid regulations about unclean foods, find parallels among their contemporaries.[127] And in a number of instances these animals were looked upon as in some way associated with evil powers.[128] For the early Semites the ostrich and the hare were both considered demonic.[129] The association of serpents with demons in antiquity is well known.[130] In Egypt swine were identified with the demon Set or Typhon, the enemy of Osiris.[131] In the Apocalypse of John both frogs and locusts were closely associated with unclean spirits, implying a likeness of nature.[132]

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[125] The Evolution of Religion (London, 1905), p. 110 f.

[126] An exhaustive statement of the extent and significance of uncleanness in all these groups is impossible here. In the selection of these phenomena which are presented the attempt has been made to give typical materials which represent fairly the attitudes and practices among the various peoples.

[127] W.C. Wood, "The Religion of Canaan from the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest," JBL, XXXV (1916), 129 and nn. 64-66. He says, "Perhaps it was a taboo resting on certain animals regarded as demon-possessed which eventually determined the Hebrew list of unclean beasts. At any rate these birds of ill omen and the serpent were listed with the unclean beasts of the Hebrew code."

[128] For animals which the Hebrews connected with demons, cf. Supra, pp. 89 f.

Among the Babylonians demons were inseparably linked with ceremonial uncleanness in its various forms, and both are bound up with sin. Heitmüller's summary states the situation with conciseness and clarity, "Unreinheit ist nichts anderes als Besessenheit von bösen Geistern, - und ebenso Sünde."[133] The sinner, according to the earliest conception we can find among the Babylonians, was the person who was possessed by a demon and thereby rendered unclean so that the gods would no longer dwell within him.[134]

The Persian interpretation of these experiences closely parallels the Babylonian.

> In the view of the Zend-Avesta, which regards the whole universe as an overcharged battery of spiritual electricity, a single careless act of accidental uncleanliness is a cosmic catastrophe: legions of 'drugs' or devils start up at once into existence to destroy the world of righteousness.[135]

If space permitted many other examples from other groups might be cited.[136]

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[129] W.R. Smith, *RS*, 3ed, p. 129, n. 2.

[130] Cf. also the demonic significance of dragons with cosmic functions in some of the ancient mythologies.

[131] Peake, "Unclean, Uncleanness," *HDB*, IV.830a.

[132] Rev. 9:3 ff.; 16:13; cf. Charles, *Rev.*, *ICC*, I.242-7.

[133] *Im Namen Jesu*, p. 186; cf. nn. on pp. 186 f. for sources.

[134] Cf. S.H. Langdon, "Expiation and Atonement (Babylonian)," *ERE*, V.638b. The Sumerian term for "curse" means "to cast a spell by words." *Loc. cit.*, n. 15.

[135] Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 104; cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, IV., Zend-Avesta, ed. by J. Darmsteter and L.H. Mills, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1880), Pt. I., 201, 204. The same situation held in early India, as shown in this same volume. Intro., p. LXXXVI.

[136] For Roman attitudes and practices *see infra*, pp. 261-69.

While the demonic responsibility for ritual uncleanness is clearly seen in many experiences, it is most strikingly revealed in the experiences associated with death. The demons found their supreme triumph over man in bringing about his death. His body was subject to the attacks of demonic hordes that endangered the relatives of the deceased and all who were near.[137] These perils to the living explain some of the familiar mourning customs of ancient peoples.

> The kinsmen of the recently dead in all primitive societies are impure, because they have come into contact with death, the chief source of all impurity; therefore they must be isolated, and, until they are purified, must wear some badge or external mark - what we call 'mourning' - to warn others against approaching them.[138]

In Greece there was a polluting essence or "miasma" arising from a corpse which endangered all near it. In case of bloodshed, even when accidental, the presence of the slayer was so contagious and defiling that he must flee the country until forgiven by the near relatives of the slain man. Even then strict rites of purification must be observed before his restoration to his normal place in the social group.[139] Only thus could the menace to the community be removed.[140] Among the Persians there prevailed a great fear of the demons that swarmed about a corpse, especially of one who had been hanged.[141] In many cases the ghost of the slain person was the demon most to be feared. This seems to have been true especially in Greek and Semitic circles,[142] though the identity of the menacing power is often left in doubt.

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[137] Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 602 f.; Frazer, Golden Bough, III, 397-401.

[138] Farnell, op. cit., p. 96.

[139] Ibid., pp. 146-51.

[140] Fasting, a sacrificial meal, and a sort of "scapegoat ceremony" with a raven, were other means of ritual purification. See all of Ch. III of Farnell, op. cit., and "Expiation and Atonement," by Fairbanks, ERE, V, 651-53.

[141] SBE, IV, Pt. 1, p. 88; cf. 136, 204; Farnell, op. cit., 128.

[142] Farnell, op. cit., Ch. III, esp. pp. 144, 147 f.

Since the demons are the chief source of defilement in many of these vital group experiences, the main purpose of rites of purification is the eviction of the invading hosts. Thus purification ceremonies are largely exorcistic in character. In many cases purification and exorcism are identical in the public cultus.[143] For early Babylonia, this is clearly shown by Langdon,

> To free man from the devils, to loosen the ban cast upon him by the powers of evil, is the problem in the ritual of atonement.
>
> Power to overcome the demons and the ban is obtained through the curse given to the priests by Ea, god of Eridu, the ancient seat of the cult of fresh water. Inherently there is no difference between the curse hurled upon man by the demons and wizards and the curse of salvation uttered by the priests in the name of the water-god. The superiority of the latter lies in the superior mystic power of the god himself.[144]

One of the Babylonian atonement rituals is very revealing of current attitudes, particularly when seen in connection with the scapegoat ceremony of the Hebrews.

> In the ordinary ritual of atonement water, bread, grain, plants and animal sacrifices are introduced....In the primitive ritual, water was undoubtedly employed as a means of purification, and applied in one way or another before the curse of Eridu was uttered. The priest seeks to drive the demons into the water, the bread, the grain, or whatsoever element may be employed. When he utters the curse the evil passes into the water, which is then taken away into 'a clean place' or thrown in the byways. Such water, bread, etc., were regarded as extremely dangerous and capable of exercising a ban upon anyone who touched them or even looked at them. On ancient seals the sinner is often represented bringing a goat as an offering, and not infrequently the rituals mention lambs of sacrifice....At any rate neither the blood of the victim nor the sacrifice itself plays any essential role in the mystery of expiation....The bread, water, plants, etc., into which the curse had driven the powers of evil, are called *takpirtu*. *Kuppuru* then developed the sense of 'purge,' 'purify,' atone.[145]

In Persia the rituals of purification were clearly exorcistic, the chief cleansing words used being "spells" and formulae of magic potency."[146] In healing also the medicineman who cured a person with a cleansing spell that expelled the demons was held in much higher honor than the surgeon who healed with the knife. It was to the ancient a more potent proof of the divine power which operated through him.

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[143] Heitmüller, *INJ*, p. 187, and nn. for sources in Assyrian-Babylonian life.

[144] ERE, V.639a.

[145] *ERE*, *Vol.V*, pp. 639 f.; cf. Driver, "Expiation and Atonement (Hebrew)," *ERE*, V.654.

Among the Greeks cult rites were necessary to remove ceremonial impurities. Sacrifices and other cathartic practices were commonly followed as effective. The eating of a sacrificial meal to remove the polluting miasma of death was a rite peculiar to Hellenic circles, according to Farnell who describes it thus,

> ...sacrificial communion with God was sometimes considered an effective means of obliterating the impurity which the kinsmen contracted by a death in the family: at Argos, the mourners put off the 'tapu' by eating of the sacrifice to Apollo, believing that the spirit of the pure god in the sacred food could destroy the miasma within and around them.[147]

The presence of apotropaic or expulsive significance in some of the cult rites in the early Christian group is now widely recognized by students of religion. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were particularly efficacious in this regard, for several centuries in the history of Christendom.[148] Purification for the neo-Platonists was concerned chiefly with the expulsion of demons from certain kinds of food.[149]

In all of these groups of antiquity there prevailed an inseparable relationship between ritual uncleanness, sin, and demons on the one hand; and purification, atonement and exorcism on the other. Demons were responsible for these important aspects of social and religions maladjustment, hence the public cult practices of purification and atonement inevitably involved the expulsion of the obnoxious spirits.

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[146] Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 132, with sources.

[147] *Op. cit.*, pp. 135 f.; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, p. 24. One thinks of the experience of the Corinthian Christians, who were protected from the demons in the meat they ate, by the presence within themselves of the spirit of Christ, I Cor. 10:14-31.

[148] *See* Heitmüller, *INJ*, esp. pp. 266-336, though the whole book is valuable for a wealth of ancient parallels; *infra*, pp.408 f. Farnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-60. For the persistence of these attitudes in Roman Catholicism today *see* J.F. Sullivan, *Externals of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1918), p. 45; *Fundamentals of Catholic Belief* (New York, 1925), pp. 47, 178 f.

[149] So Porphyry, in Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, IV.22.

In the light of these practices and attitudes among the surrounding nations, we come to the question of their meaning for the Jews. Did they share with their neighbors these beliefs in pollution through demonic attacks and the efficacy of cult rites for purifying society from them? We shall study the problem in connection with important purification rites.

2. Rituals of Purfication

A consideration of all these rites of a purificatory nature is not possible here. We shall consider typical practices that have a bearing on our problem. These include (a) blood rituals, (b) the use of water, (c) the sprinkling of ashes, (d) the scapegoat ceremony, (e) the blowing of the ram's horn at New Year's.

a. Blood rituals.- The central place of sacrifice in the Jewish cultus is generally recognized. But very little consideration has been given to the question of the efficacy of the sacrificial blood in insuring protection against demonic forces. A survey of relevant facts reveals a great deal of significance from this angle.

When the high priest was officiating on the Day of Atonement he was required to sacrifice a bullock as a sinoffering for himself, and a goat for the people. According to Leviticus 16:14,

> ...he shall take of the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy-seat on the east; and before the mercy-seat shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times.

The same procedure is to be repeated with the blood of the goat for the people and for the sanctuary, "because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions, even all their sins." (Verse 16). He must also put some of the blood of each victim upon the horns of the altar. "And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from the uncleannesses of the children of Israel." (Verse 19).[150]

In the ceremony of the red cow (Numbers 19) for the removal of uncleanness, the priest was required to dip his finger in the blood and sprinkle it toward the "tent of meeting" seven times (verse 4). The blood of the Passover victim was smeared upon the lintel and the doorposts of the house as a protection. The record represents Yahweh as saying, "And when I see the blood I will pass over you, and there shall no plague be upon you to destroy you." (Exodus 12:13; cf. verse 7).

These three rites, although differing in many respects, have three important features in common. All involve (1) the sacrifice of an animal (or animals), (2) the sprinkling or besmearing of blood, and (3) purification of persons or things.[151] To what extent did they drive away demons? The original apotropaic function of the Passover rite is most obvious. The blood protected from a destroying death-demon that menaced the nomadic group at the time of the first full moon in spring.[152] Yahweh's assumption of control in this matter in our present record is clearly a change by the official cult-representatives of Yahweh, as so often happened. Why may not the similar uses of blood in the other rites have had similar significance? There are indications that point clearly in this direction. The inseparable relationship between sin and uncleanness which we have found in contemporary groups is also seen here (Leviticus 16:16). In the light of the close association of demons with sin which was noted earlier,[153] the conclusion is unavoidable that demons and ritual uncleanness are intimately intertwined in Jewish thinking. The former are one of chief causes of the latter. This is what we should naturally expect in a world where such attitudes were practically universal. The Jews of necessity used thought forms which were the current coin of their time. The blood of the sacrifice which was sprinkled or smeared had a magical potency to keep off or drive away the demons that brought sin, impurity and other forms of harm. Numerous instances of similar uses of blood in the fight against demonic hordes have been adduced from many sources, for both ancient and modern times.[154] The frequent New Testament references to demons as unclean spirits, and their contact with places that defile,

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[150] Cf. Ezek. 45:15-25.

[151] It would be more accurate to say that the Passover rite here mentioned has value in maintaining purity, rather than securing it.

[152] Cf. supra, pp. 114-16, 131. The persistence of the practice of smearing the blood of the Passover victim upon the tents and the children of the Samaritans down to our own time is shown in the following account by Trumbull (The Blood Covenant Philadelphia, 1898, p. 232), "To this day, as I can testify from personal observation, the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim (where alone

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in all the world the passover-blood is now shed, year by year), bring to mind the blood-covenant aspects of this rite, by their uses of that sacred blood. The spurting life-blood of the consecrated lambs is caught in basins, as it flows from their cut throats; and not only are all the tents promptly marked with the blood as a covenant-token, but every child of the covenant receives also a blood-mark, on his forehead, between his eyes, in evidence of his relation to God in the covenant of blood-friendship." The apotropaic significance is quite clear.

[153] *Supra*, pp. 115-21.

[154] See Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (Chicago, 1902), especially pp.181-217; Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, pp. 81-82 , *The Threshold Covenant* (2d ed., New York, 1906), pp. 45-57 , Doughty, *op. cit.* (London, 1888), I. 499 ; Farnell, *op. cit.*, Lecture III.

further strengthen their connection with uncleanness.[155] In fact they furnished the most dangerous kind of pollution with which one could be defiled, and it is to be expected that the public rituals of purification should be largely concerned with freeing society from their clutches. And blood has, for millenniums, been considered one of the most potent media for thwarting them.

Deuteronomy 21:1-9 records another characteristic Hebrew practice for protecting the community against an evil spirit. It deals with expiation for a murder in a case where the slayer is unknown and hence cannot be made to pay the price of blood which every murder demanded. The elders of the community nearest the place of the slaying must take a heifer to an uncultivated piece of ground near a stream of water, break her neck and leave her body there. The ceremony of washing their hands over her body was to free them from all guilt for the murder and turn the wrath of the ghost of the deceased from themselves to the slain animal. With his murder thus avenged vicariously, the human group was protected against attacks of the demon (ghost in this instance). In this case the use of the blood varied from the other practices but the general purpose was the same.

The sprinkling and smearing of the blood of sacrificial victims in the purification ceremonies for a leper and a leprous house are clearly directed toward the expulsion and driving from the individual and the community of the demons of this dread disease.[156] While this ritual is not in one sense a part of the official cultus, it is strictly under the supervision of the priests and is carried on for the welfare of the whole social order as well as for the individual immediately concerned.[157]

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[155] E.g., Mark 1:23 ff.; 5:2-20 and parallels in Matt. and Luke. The Gerasene demoniac was staying in a cemetery, the most unclean place to be found, where demons swarmed in multitudes because of the dead. Note also the deep concern of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem with reference to avoiding the pollution of idols. They were so defiling because of the presence of the foreign deities, which were regarded as demons by the Jews. Acts 15:20.

Circumcision is another basic Jewish blood-rite which originally had efficacy in protecting against demons. This is shown in the story of the circumcision of Moses' son.[158] The performance of this rite was necessary to save his life from an attack of Yahweh, according to the record as we have it. But clearly the original must have told of the threatened attack of some demonic spirit. The importance of circumcision as a purifying rite is seen in its strict requirement for all who would share in the benefits of Jewish social and religious life. The uncircumcised man was "outside the pale," an outcaste who was unclean, whose presence and touch brought pollution.[159] The one who had submitted to the rite was purified and protected from threatening demons. His circumcision was a "seal" that marked him as belonging to Yahweh and his people and afforded divine immunity against all hostile powers.[160]

These rites clearly show the relationship of demons and ritual impurity, and the apotropaic and protective value of the ceremonials of purification in early Hebrew life. But certain elements also show that this significance persisted into the New Testament period. The references to demons as unclean and their activity in places of greatest contagion show this inseparable relationship they sustained to ceremonial defilement. And, obviously, no purification could be complete until the demons were expelled. Hence the main purpose of purification rites was the driving away of these polluting spirits. The continuance of this meaning in these rites is further supported by the strong conservatism of the populace in retaining the old inherited attitudes toward established religious practices. As in many other groups of their contemporaries the old meanings persisted for centuries.[161] This was all the more true because the rites were indispensable to individual and group welfare. No logical theory was developed by the masses in explanation of these experiences. They accepted uncritically the inherited attitudes associated with the familiar cult rites and trusted implicitly in their efficacy. The ever-present menace of the demons with their defiling influence created an urgent need for protective measures, and the cult-rites long hallowed by sacred tradition provided some of the most potent means for insuring that protection.

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[156] Lev. 14; cf. supra, pp.121 f for a more complete discussion.

[157] It is interesting to note Jesus' injunction, to the leper he healed, to go to the priest and perform these prescribed Levitical rites, Mark 1:40-45 and parallels.

[158] Exodus 4:24-26.

[159] This applied also to Egyptians and other groups practicing circumcision; see Benzinger, EB, col. 831.

[160] Cf. Origen, Cels. V.48.

Of course the official interpretations of the religious leaders did not give much recognition to these survivals of primitive attitudes. They were concerned with bringing all cult practices strictly under the jurisdiction of the national deity, Yahweh,. Only thus, from their point of view, could they develop that group solidarity so essential to national well-being.[162] But in spite of all the official attempts in this direction, the older meanings still held sway among the people.

b. The use of water.- Water is a medium employed universally for purposes of ceremonial purification. It was used by the Jews in a number of rituals, both private and public. The gospels as well as Jewish sources show the importance of ceremonial washings of the hands, of cooking utensils, etc. We have already noticed the danger from demons threatening the one with unwashed hands.[163] The proper ablutions removed this demonic impurity. Washing with water (and salt) was an established Jewish practice in connection with the purification of the new-born child.[164] In the light of the dangers from evil spirits at this critical experience, the rite was of more than merely hygienic value; it helped insure protection to the child against these invisible foes.[165]

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[161] Cf. the volumes by Curtiss, Doughty and Trumbull for many present-day examples in Palestine and neighboring areas.

[162] Cf. supra, pp. 212 f.

Running water was an important factor in the purification ceremonies for the expiation of the untraced murder (Deuteronomy 21:1-9) for cleansing the leper (Leviticus 14), and in the making of the antiseptic compound (the "water of impurity") for sprinkling on those who had incurred pollution through touching a corpse. In picturing the glorious future in store for his people, Ezekiel regards ritual purification with water as very essential to holiness. He says, (speaking for Yahweh), "And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you."[166] Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai, a contemporary of Paul, speaks of the Gentile custom of sprinkling water as a part of the procedure of exorcism. His Gentile companion attributes a similar expulsive function in the

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[163] *Supra*, p. 176; cf. Strack and Billerbeck, *Kom.*, IV, Pt. I, p. 517.

[164] Ezek. 16:4.

[165] These two procedures just discussed are in one sense private practices, yet they are recognised and by the whole social group and given official sanction.

[166] Ezek. 36:25; cf. quot. from Langdon, p.228 also quot. from Test. Sol., sec. 82, *supra*, pp. 203 f.

Jewish rite of the "water of impurity" with the ashes of the red cow. Jochanan disclaims such significance but the conversation with his disciples which follows suggests that he was apologetic. Even though his answer may represent the official attitude of the rabbis, the other reflects the popular interpretation.[167]

Did Jewish baptism have value in freeing the candidate from demonic influence? Such sacramental significance inhered in this universal rite of purification for many other peoples of this time.[168] Among the Jews also it was a cathartic ritual of great efficacy. They shared with their neighbors the assurance of some sort of divine potency in "living water."[169] For them, the Jordan River in particular had unusual revivifying or purifying power. Tradition told of the cleansing of Naaman from the dreaded leprosy through dipping himself seven times in its healing waters.[170] Undoubtedly there was a deeper reason than mere convenience that led John the Baptist to perform his rite of baptism in this sacred stream. And when performed for those properly qualified to receive it, it brought purification from their sins. Proselyte baptism was necessary to remove the impurity attaching to a non-Jew, and to prepare him for membership with this "chosen people."[171]

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[167] Pesik. 40a; *see* Strack and Billerbeck, *Kom.*, IV, Pt. I, p. 524. According to the late Jewish work of magic, "The Sword of Moses," purification in matters of eating, drinking, bathing, washing the hands with salt, etc., were necessary for one who would use the Divine Name as a word of power. The exorcist must first be ritually clean before expelling demons from others. Heitmüller, *INJ*, p. 158, n. 1; cf. Gaster, "The Sword of Moses: an Ancient Book of Magic," *JRAS* (1896), pp. 149-98.

[168] Particularly the Mystery Cults and Christianity. *See* Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, pp. 156-58; and the standard works on the Mystery Religions. The Mandaeans gave it like importance in the conquest of demons. *See* Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, pp. 42, 165, 179, 189 f.; Heitmüller, *INJ*, pp. 195 f. and sources.

[169] Cf. *supra*, pp. 92 f.

[170] Modern inhabitants of Syria and Palestine believe profoundly in the marvelous efficacy of flowing streams and springs. *See* Curtiss, *PSRT*, pp. 89 f., 116 f.

According to the attitudes of official Judaism, apotropaic value was not attributed to these rites. It is also generally denied by modern Jewish scholars.[172] But these estimates are based upon the point of view represented in the rabbinic sources, not on the popular evaluation of the experiences. If our earlier conclusions regarding the inseparable relationship of ritual pollution, sin, disease and demonic activities is valid, the exorcistic aspect of baptism is inescapable. To deny its presence here is to take ourselves out of the social situation and dominant world-view of the first century and to interpret these experiences from the point of view of scientific twentieth century people. With demons playing the vital role that they did in the everyday experience of the average Jew, any rituals of purification that brought the benefits attributed to baptism must in the process drive away these destructive forces of evil. And this applies likewise to the other forms of cathartic water-rituals.

c. *The sprinkling of ashes*.- Reference has already been made to the "water of impurity" to be used for removing pollution from one who had touched the dead.[173] This was a compound made of the ashes of a cow (the whole carcass), burned with the addition of cedarwood, hyssop and scarlet, and then mixed with running water. Prepared according to minute and specific details, and applied likewise by the properly qualified person on the third and seventh days of one's defilement, it was effective in removing the uncleanness. As in the case of other rituals of cleansing, insofar as pollution came from demons, to that extent the ritual drove them out in the process of purification. The mourning custom of throwing ashes upon one's head has some aspects closely related to this. Both are concerned with protecting the living from the attacks of the ghost of the dead or from other dangerous spirit forces.[174]

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[171] Brandt, "Baptism (Jewish)," *ERE*, II.408 f. and sources there cited.

[172] E.g., I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1st Series (Cambridge, 1917), pp. 36-46.

[173] Num. 19:2-20; for a fuller consideration of this rite in its various aspects *see* Gray, *Num.*, *ICC*, pp. 241-56.

d. *The scapegoat ceremony*.- This is one of the most important portions of the purification ritual on the Day of Atonement - the time *par excellence* for freeing the Jewish social order of all harmful and polluting influences. Of ancient origin,[175] and with parallels found almost universally,[176] this rite continued to hold its place in the Jewish cultus for many centuries. The Levitical regulations with reference to it are as follows,

> And he (Aaron) shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel two he-goats for a sin-offering....And he shall... set them before Jehovah at the door of the tent of meeting. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for Jehovah, and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot fell for Jehovah, and offer him for a sin-offering. But the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel shall he set alive before Jehovah, to make atonement for him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness....and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the

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[174] Jochanan ben Zakkai, a Palestinian Rabbi of the first century, says that the spirit driven out by the Ashes of the Red Cow is a spirit of impurity. Pesik. 40a; Blau, *DAZ*, p. 31; the parallel to the "unclean spirits" in the gospels is significant. For the use of ashes in mourning *see* M.A. Canney, "Ashes," *ERE*, II.112-14 and sources there cited.

[175] Lev. 16:5-10,20-22. In spite of the late date of this document, the ceremony is clearly primitive; cf. Kohler, "Azazel: in Biblical, Apocryphal, and Rabbinical Literature," *JE*, II.365 f.; Driver, "Azazel," *HDB*, I.207 f.

[176] For exhaustive study of parallels *see* Frazer, *GB*, Pt. VI, *The Scapegoat*; cf. Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 80 and n. 77 for valuable suggestions and bibliography.

> children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins; and he shall put them upon he head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a man that is in readiness into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities into a solitary land: and he shall let go the goat in the wilderness. (Leviticus 16:5,7-10,20-22).

This important rite continued, with changes in detail, for many centuries. According to the Talmud, in later times the goat was thrown down the precipitous cliff at Dudael a few miles outside Jerusalem.[177] But the basic significance remained the same. Society was still in need of an inclusive ritual for the periodic removal of all its sins and evils by sending them back to their demonic chief from which they originally came. It was a wholesale rite of expulsion of demons and their sinister works.[178] Through it the whole community sought in a united way to begin the New Year[179] purged of the pollution and dangers inherent in the demons' presence.[180]

e. *Blowing of the ram's horn*.- In connection with the New Year's ceremonies one of the chief features was the frequent blowing of the ram's horn trumpet. In fact the day was often referred to as the "Day of Shofar-blowing."[181] While undoubtedly there were other reasons for this ceremony, its function in driving away Satan and his hosts is prominent. A prayer, uttered in connection with the trumpet blasts, ran as follows, "Shut the mouth of Satan that he accuse us not, for on Thee our eyes are hanging."[182] A late rabbinic source says, "The sounds of the 'Shofar' are intended to confuse Satan."[183] Erdmans suggests that the purpose of the blowing of the Shofar was to drive away the evil spirits, who were then more numerous than usual because the good spirits were in heaven helping to fix the destinies of men for the coming year.[184] While this savors somewhat of the minutiae of rabbinic exegesis, the basic assumption of its character as a protective rite seems valid.[185]

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[177] Cf. Kohler, "Azazel," *JE*, II.366; J.F. McCurdy, "Azazel: Critical View," *JE*, II.367.

[178] Moore, *Judaism*, II.57 f., says "the atonement was not a disinfection of the sanctuary with blood or a physical riddance of guilt conveyed away by the scapegoat, but an act of divine forgiveness." He is speaking of the Age of the Tannaim, and of what he terms "normative Judaism." We may grant that his position is largely true with regard to the rabbinic leaders, but for the populace its function was far more realistic.

[179] Frazer, *GB*, Part VI, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 224 f. calls attention to the common practice of having such rites of riddance at the beginning of the year, or at some other important period of transition. The Jewish Day of Atonement came as the climax of their public rituals at the New Year's season.

[180] The development of an elaborate mythology around Azazel is another indication of his importance in later Jewish thought. *See* esp. I Enoch chs. 6;8;9;10;13;54;5 f.; 55:4; 69:2; *Apoc. of Abraham*, trans. by G.H. Box and J.I. Landsman (New York, 1919), chs. 24;25;31; Kohler, *OSC*, pp. 182 ff. and notes.

[181] Oesterley and Box, *RWS*, pp. 382.

V. Summary of Official Practices

By way of summary on the exorcistic function of the official cult rites in Judaism the following points may be noted:

(1) The fundamental purpose of all cult rites was very concrete and practical. It was to establish with the deity such a relationship as to guarantee his continued favors - food, shelter, health and all the other necessities of a prosperous and happy existence. This naturally involved freedom from the molestations of all hostile powers - human and demonic - or some means of insuring victory over them. In order to be free to enjoy these

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[182] Ibid., p. 384. It is interesting to note that this ritual is still observed.

[183] R.H. 16; quoted by Margolis, M.L., JE, II.286b.

[184] Alttest. Stud., Lev. 4:79; ref. in Gray, Sacrifice in the OT., 304 f., who places little reliance in it because of lack of specific substantiating evidence. On the apotropaic significance of musical instruments in early Canaanite life see Wood, JBL, XXXV (1916), 214.

[185] According to late Jewish sources, (Yalk., Hadesh, Mita 47), the Shedim were driven away from funerals by the blowing of the shofar-trumpet. Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 53, n. 1; why should it not have served the same purpose on New Year's Day, at an earlier period?

positive benefits there must be furnished this assurance of protection from threatening spirit forces.

(2) A study of extant official utterances of Jewish religious leaders, however, reveals but little specific recognition of such protective value in the ritual, but that the leaders were concerned with presenting the positive aspects of the nation's relationship to Yahweh. They were interested in the achievement of the positive benefits of a good Life, which could come only through an undivided recognition of Yahweh and loyalty to his requirements of them. And a positive psychology which ignored the spirits of evil helped them in their aim.

(3) When, however, we turn to the common people, such an attitude proves unsatisfactory. The demonic dangers cannot be averted by closing their eyes to their presence.[186] Our earlier study revealed a number of private practices directed toward warding off these ills. With so many dangers from demonic attacks, and with public rites which sacred tradition invested with protective value against them, the attitude of the people is unmistabkable. They look to the public cultus also to insure their safety. The prevailing psychology which operates in private and individual experiences naturally carries over into the group experiences, or rather they are one and inseparable from the beginning.

(4) In fact the divinely established cult rites come to be regarded as the most effective means for guaranteeing protection. They have all the sanction and authority of Yahweh back of them. While some of the private practices might be open to question, these official rites have the stamp of assured "orthodoxy" upon

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[186] This statement does not do full justice to the leaders. For a more complete discussion see infra, sec. C. of this chapter.

them. Moreover, they are broader in scope than the private rites, as they insure the general welfare of the community or the nation as a whole.

(5) A study of typical cult rites has shown that they carried great efficacy in warding off or driving away the demons and the manifold ills which they inflicted.

(6) These protective aspects of the public ritual by no means exhaust its significance. They are but the negative aspects, but are vital as they are the indispensable prerequisite to the realization of the desired positive values of a happy life. Certain important phases of the official attitudes toward the practice of exorcism which have not been included here will be considered in the following section.

C. The Attitude of Official Judaism toward Exorcism

We have already seen that exorcistic practices were carried on by the Jews in the first and succeeding centuries.[187] We also noted that in a large percentage of cases they were performed by the rabbis, or others closely associated with them.[188] In fact exorcism and similar magical arts were practiced to such an extent by the Jews that they became popularly known as magicians out in the Roman Empire.[189] But in spite of the Jewish practice of these magic rites, with a variety of methods and over a large area, their use was strictly forbidden by official Judaism. Strict injunctions are found against all these arts in both the Deuteronomic and the Holiness Codes, the latter prescribing the death penalty by stoning for violators of the command.[190] Numerous passages in the intertestamental literature support these legal pronouncements, heaping maledictions upon those responsible for the forbidden practices.[191] The New Testament writings reveal a bitter antagonism of his fellow-Jews toward Jesus for his exorcisms in violation of the divine law.[192] The early Jewish disciples of Jesus are charged with a like infraction of the regulation because of their healing activities in the name of Jesus.[193] The rabbinical writings contain many similar prohibitions of these practices. Not only are they directed against the use of other deities,[194] including Jesus;[195] they are even forbidden to speak the name of Yahweh for such purposes.[196] Thus biblical, apocryphal and talmudic sources agree in their attitude of strong antagonism toward exorcism and allied practices.

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[187] *Supra*, pp. 186-234.

[188] Does the reference of Jesus (Matt. 12:27) to the "sons" of the Pharisees as exorcists imply descendants or disciples? In either case they are closely associated with the Pharisaic religious leaders. Cf. the incident of the seven sons of Sceva the priest (Acts 19:13 ff.). *See also* Blau, *DAZ*, pp. 23-27 for a discussion with names of talmudic exorcists; Montgomery, *AITN*, texts Nos. 8,9,32 and pp. 163 f. for criticism; Strack and Billerbeck, *Kom.*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 534 f.; Fiebig, *Jüdische Wundergeschichten* (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 25 f.

[189] Juvenal VI:542-47; cf. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Early Christianity, etc.*, trans. by J. Moffatt (2d ed.; New York, 1904), I, 156 f.

How are we to explain this attitude and reconcile this conflict between theory and practice? It is possible that in certain extreme cases where the urgency of the situation demanded it, exorcism might have been permitted to save a life. So at least some Jews thought, even if the cure was to be performed in the name of Jesus.[197] Such a cure would have been accepted as in keeping with Jewish practice if the exorcist had used some indirect reference to the name of Yahweh as the power invoked.[198] But the use of the divine name directly would involve one in the guilt of blasphemy.

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[190] Deut. 18:9-14; Lev. 20:27.

[191] I Enoch 65:6-11; Test. Judah 23:1 f.; II Baruch 60:1; Wisd. Sol. 12:4; 17:7; 18:13; II Enoch 10:4; Martyrdom of Isa. 2:5; Sib. Or. III 218 f., 225-28.

[192] Mark 3:22; Matt. 9:34; 12:24; Luke 11:15.

[193] Acts 4:7-10,18,29 f.; cf. 16:16-18; 19:13; Mark 9:38; Luke 10:17; Jesus' act of spitting in connection with his healings in Mark 7:33; 8:23 was a violation of the principle in Tosephta XII:9; cf. Case, *Jesus*, p. 358, n. 1.

[194] Mechilta to 22:18; Ned. 32a; Sifre II.170; Baraitha Sabb. 75a; Rosh. Hashanah 24b; Ab. Zar. 18a; 43b; Sanh. 68a; Blau, *DAZ*, p. 20 and n. 3; cf. Exod. 23:13; Philo, *De spec. leg.*, *On Monarchy*, I.9; Schürer, *HJP*, Div. II. Vol. III.151 ff.

[195] Shabb. 14d; Tosef. Hul. II.22; Ab. Zar. II.40d; cf. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York, 1925), p. 40 and n. 80; Blau, *JE*, V.306.

[196] Sanh. X.1; Tos. XII.9; Case, *loc. cit.*; Aboth 1:13; Ned. 7b; Kohler, *OSC*, p. 51 and n. 12; p. 281.

The name of Yahweh was "charged" with too much potency to be used indiscriminately by anyone. It was a weapon that would prove dangerous (probably fatal) to the one daring to repeat it. This would apply particularly to the populace, for whom no doubt the prohibitions were primarily intended. But it was not limited to them. Even the chief religious officials must use the divine name with extreme caution and only under certain specified circumstances. Its use was limited geographically to Jerusalem (Deuteronomy 12:5,11) and sacerdotally to the pronouncement of the Aaronic blessing and the various liturgical rites on the Day of Atonement.[199]

But even a greater danger lay in the utterance of the names of foreign deities in exorcism. Such use of the name of an alien god was a recognition of his power, implied allegiance to him, and hence disloyalty to Yahweh and their own faith.[200] Such practices not only violated the Jewish doctrine of monotheism - a strong pillar of the true faith; it also endangered the welfare of the whole nation. If carried on too far it would frustrate their fondest hopes of enjoying the blessings of the new Messianic Age which Yahweh was expected to grant to his people. The attainment of this great national hope depended upon an undivided loyalty to Yahweh and his requirements for the group. But the acknowledgment of the foreign gods was disloyalty to the faith which must be dealt with rigorously. The official religious leaders must punish with death any who should thus threaten the future happiness of the whole nation.[201]

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[197] The case of R. Eliezer ben Dama who was bitten by a poisonous serpent. He and Jacob of Kefar Sekanya thought it was justified, Eliezer's uncle, R. Ishmael opposed it. See Klausner, loc. cit., Ib. for details.

[198] So Case, loc. cit.

[199] Heitmüller, INJ, p. 151 and n. 4 for extensive source materials.

[200] Pedersen (Israel, p. 257) notes also that the naming of such a deity acts in a magical way to augment his power: "...for in that manner one contributes towards keeping them

Another element in the social situation has a bearing on the problem. The official leaders were thoroughly convinced that the safeguarding of the nation's welfare was in their hands. To them were entrusted the privilege and the responsibility of administering and perpetuating the institutions and ideals of their cherished religion. Hence they viewed with fear and resentment the assumption of any of their exclusive powers and prerogatives by any presumptuous untrained and unauthorized religious leaders. Such strict provisions as those regarding exorcism were thus safeguards of the true faith, of its official representatives, and ultimately of the welfare of the whole nation.

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alive and their soul upright." Cf. Exod. 23:13; Deut. 18:20; Josh. 23:7; Hos. 2:19.

[201] This was the practical basis for the concern of the scribes (or Pharisees, Matt.) about Jesus' exorcism in the name of Beelzebub, Mark 3:22 and parallels.

PART III

THE ROMAN WORLD

CHAPTER VII

THE FUNCTIONS OF DEMONS IN ROMAN LIFE OF THE FIRST CENTURY

The Gospel of Mark is a product of the Roman world of the latter part of the first century, hence consideration must be given to the significance of demonology and exorcism there. We shall first summarize outstanding aspects of Roman life that have a bearing upon our problem,[1] then deal with the specific functions of evil powers in these relationships.

A. General Conditions of Roman Life

The following major life interests will be included: (1) political conditions, (2) economic interests, (3) social relationships, (4) problems of physical well being.

I. Political Conditions

Rome was the capital of a vast empire which included the whole of the Mediterranean world of the time, and extended far to the north and east. Among her more than fifty millions[2] of people were found representatives of most diverse and varied races, cultures and interests. Rome itself was an ancient world in miniature, with throngs of people from every part of the empire crowding her streets in a great cosmopolitan array. Syrians, Greeks, Egyptians, Jews, Phrygians, Gauls and Britons; traders, travelers, students, professors, captives of war, and pleasure-seekers from every quarter mingled with the old Roman stock and the crowds of rural folk - all coming to the great city with hopes of a better future than the old life offered.

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[1] These summaries are of course very inadequate as statements of conditions in the respective areas of human experience of first century Rome. But the attempt has been made to have them representative of dominant trends as revealed in the standard sources.

[2] For estimates of the population of the Roman Empire see Davis, Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome (New York, 1910), pp. 44-46. They vary from 54,000,000 (Beloch) to 85,000,000 (Merivale); for a fuller discussion see Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, 7 ed., trans. by L.A. Magnus (New York, 1908-13), IV, 17-28. Frank (An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic (2d rev. ed., Baltimore, 1927), pp. 158-60 and n. p. 160) says that 90% of the Roman population was touched with foreign blood in the imperial period.

Since the time of Alexander the Great the old walls of nationalism had been crumbling, and a broader cosmopolitan outlook developing. Now, after a century of imperial history, millions of people were accustomed to think in terms of the great world-wide organization[3] that ruled their destinies, rather than in terms of their racial or national interests. Even a member of the Jewish national group - the most exclusively race-conscious group of the empire - could take great pride in his Roman citizenship, and be led by it to a world outlook.[4] Although bound together by the political power of Rome, the excellent system of highways, a common language and a syncretistic Hellenistic culture, the empire was a great complex of diverse and often conflicting forces.

The political stability of the empire had been shaken many times by threatened barbarian invasions and by revolts and internal struggles among warring aspirants for the imperial power. The centuries of almost incessant warfare preceding the establishment of the empire had imposed heavy financial burdens from which even a century of comparative peace had not been able to free them. The drain of military expenditures for frontier defense was still enormous. Political instability and social chaos were especially acute in the later years of Nero's reign and the period of internecine strife that elevated and dethroned three emperors in a single year. The spirit of restlessness and discontent was often intensified by the fact that only a small percentage of the people enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizenship.

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[3] This term is of course used in a relative sense, as applying to the Graeco-Roman world which centered geographically in the Mediterranean.

[4] For Paul's attitude, see Acts 16:37 f.; 22:25-9; 25:10-2; cf. Gal. 3:28.

II. Economic Conditions

For more than two centuries there had been a noticeable decline in agriculture, the basic industry of the Roman people. The long wars of world conquest crushed the economic stability of the sturdy old Roman farmer-class, and drove many of them to the cities to fill the bread lines of Rome. The land, taken over by great capitalists, formed into extensive plantations and operated by slave labor furnished by the hosts of prisoners of war, suffered a loss of fertility and productiveness.[5] Pliny tells us that Nero put to death the owners of six large estates in the province of Africa, thus bringing half the agricultural land of Africa into the imperial domain.[6] Similar developments toward the concentration of land and other forms of wealth were taking place in Italy.

The inability of Italy to feed herself made necessary the importation of grain on a large scale. At times crop failures and storms caused a heavy shortage in the supply, but in this Rome was more fortunate than many other parts of the empire.[7]

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[5] A splendid discussion of agricultural conditions in the empire, with copious use of sources, is found in Heitland, *Agricola* (New York, 1921). *See also* Frank, *op. cit.*; Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926).

[6] Pliny, *NH*, XVIII.7; trans. by Bostock and Riley, 6 vols. (London, 1857), IV.14 f.

[7] For the prevalence of famines *see* Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 528 f., note 9 and sources there cited. *Also* "Famines" in the Index.

The great masses of the unemployed and poverty-stricken were fed by free grain distributed by the state and entertained by free public shows. The extensive developments of slave labor had made manual work degrading for freeman, thus contributing a great deal to the gravity of the economic situation. The gulf widened between the comparatively few of extreme wealth who lived in idleness and luxury,[8] and the multitudes ekeing out a mere existence in poverty and indolence. But even the wealth of the rich was subject to ruthless confiscation, and their lives were forfeited at the whim of a rapacious and bloodthirsty Nero.[9] Of course there were many artisans and tradesmen who occupied a middle position between these two extremes. But even many of them had a hard struggle to keep their heads above water in the midst of the swirling currents of the economic whirlpool. On the whole the economic struggle was very severe for the vast majority in Rome as in other cities in the empire where early Christianity first spread.

III. Social Conditions

For great numbers of people social life was characterized by instability, great mobility and far-reaching adjustments. The shift of thousands from rural communities to the city resulted in much suffering and maladjustment in the new environment. Crime and civil disorder were prevalent, with consequent danger to life and property.[10] The struggle for a desirable place in the social and economic order brought hopelessness and despair to many. Those who were overwhelmed in the struggle developed an attitude of inferiority. But there was a hopeful side to the situation. The development of a cosmopolitan outlook and the accompanying breakdown of narrower group consciousness put a premium on the individual. In spite of social barriers it was possible for an individual possessing the personal qualities that make for success to rise high in the social and economic scale. Dill rightly points out the far-reaching significance of the advancement which was often made by the freedmen.

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[8] See Petronius, Satiricon for a realistic picture of the extravagance of the moneyed class. This was the more extreme because in many cases they were the "newly-rich" through commercial or industrial prosperity, and not the old Roman nobility.

[9] See Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (2d ed., London, 1905), Ch. I, "The Aristocracy under the Terror" for a valuable presentation of this situation.

[10] Juvenal, Satires, trans. by Ramsay (London, 1924), III. lines 190-322 no doubt is somewhat extreme in his pictures, nevertheless the general situation is clearly along the line he suggests. Under Nero it was even worse. Cf. Dill, RSNA, Ch. I.

> When they rose to the highest place the imperial freedmen were often involved in peculation and criminal intrigue. Yet, after all reservations, the ascent of the freedmen remains a great and beneficent revolution. The very reasons which made Juvenal hate it most are its best justification to a modern mind. It gave hope of a future to the slave; by creating a free industrial class, it helped to break down the cramped social ideal of the slave-owner and the soldier; it planted in every municipality a vigorous mercantile class, who were often excellent and generous citizens. Above all, it asserted the dignity of man. The vehement iteration of Juvenal is the best testimony to the sweep and force of the movement. And the later student of Roman society cannot afford to neglect a great social upheaval which, in an aristocratic society, dominated by pride of class and race, made an Oriental slave first minister of the greatest monarchy in history, while it placed men of servile origin in command of nearly all the industrial arts and commerce of the time.[11]

Even though there were great numbers who could not achieve a desirable social status, such attainment was open to those with the necessary qualifications, and that was a welcome ray of hope.

With the glaring inequalities of the social order, and the feeling of loneliness in the great city, the best way for thousands to achieve social recognition was through the numerous guilds or collegia. These organizations for mutual benefit among those working in a common trade or sharing a common interest provided intimate group fellowship, opportunity for wholesome social expression, and the satisfaction of participation in a worthy enterprise; as well as important economic assistance in case of sickness, unemployment and death.[12] For great numbers of the common people the collegia were easily the most constructive social institutions of the time. They gave stability and opportunity for the expression of many normal social interests. Thus they saved large numbers from the social isolation and de-personalization so dangerous in city life. Dill's splendid summary admirably interprets their social significance.

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[11] RSNA, pp. 105 f.

> In the face of that world-wide and all-powerful system, the individual subject felt, ever more and more, his loneliness and helplessness. The imperial power might be well-meaning and beneficent, but it was so terrible and levelling in the immense sweep of its forces, that the isolated man seemed, in its presence reduced to the insignificance of an insect or a grain of sand. Moreover, the aristocratic constitution of municipal society became steadily more and more exclusive. If the rich decurions catered for the pleasures of the people, it was on the condition that they retained their monopoly of political power and social precedence. The plebeian crowd, recruited from the ranks of slavery, and ever growing in numbers and, in their higher ranks, in wealth, did not indeed dream of breaking down these barriers of exclusiveness; but they claimed, and quietly asserted, the right to organise a society of their own, for protection against oppression, for mutual sympathy and support, for relief from the deadly dulness of an obscure and sordid life. Individually weak and despised, they might, by union, gain a sense of collective dignity and strength....When the brotherhood, many of them of servile grade, met in full conclave, in the temple of their patron deity, to pass a formal decree of thanks to a benefactor, and regale themselves with a modest repast, or when they passed through the streets and the forum with banners flying, and all the emblems of their guild, the meanest member felt himself lifted for the moment above the dim, hopeless obscurity of plebeian life.[13]

Social and economic conditions were such as to make normal family life very difficult. Congested living quarters in fire-trap tenement apartments, with poor light, air and sanitation proved dangerous, often fatal, to child life. Rents were unreasonably high even for these undesirable and dangerous dwelling places. Economic pressure intensified the situation. The result was rapid disintegration of the old Roman family, with increased divorce rates, childless homes, marital infidelity, greater freedom of women, and widespread disrespect for the family as an institution. Halliday's characterization of family life in the first century B.C. might well be applied to our period, with the added statement that conditions were even worse in the imperial age than under the republic.

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[12] For the operation and significance of the collegia see also Abbott, The Common People of Ancient Rome (New York, 1911), pp. 205-34; Davis, The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome (New York, 1910), pp. 229-37; J.S. Reid, "Gilds (Greek and Roman)," ERE, VI.218-21.

[13] Dill, RSNA, p. 256.

> Where in rural Italy the peasant farmer survived, the old rites, which were the religious expression of this simple life, were still observed. But the poor in the Roman capital could no longer be said to possess a family life. Capitalism and slavery had produced an urban proletariat miserably poor but too proud to work at servile occupations. For the environment of family life in the small homestead was substituted existence in a corner of some crowded tenement and at death the pauper's body was cast into a common burial pit. At the other end of the social scale the old family life had equally disappeared though for opposite reasons. In the gigantic households and ostentatious palaces and villas of the millionaire it could hardly be expected to survive. Both the careless luxury of the rich and the desperate misery of the poor produced a tendency towards materialism and indifference to spiritual issues.[14]

A striking aspect of the general social life of early imperial Rome was the fanatical devotion to the public spectacles. Not only did the emperors stage these gigantic exhibitions, costing vast fortunes and the lives of hundreds of men, as the price of popular favor; but officials, aspirants to public office, popular military heroes and others of high rank were likewise forced to provide them. In frequency, variety and magnificence each patron tried to surpass his predecessors and rivals. So intense became the public mania for gladiatorial combats that they were demanded by the populace even at the funerals of men of high rank.[15] Interest in the chariot races was almost as keen, and popular heroes were accorded signal honors by their admirers. The heroic interest - admiration, support, and almost reverence for the man of superior personal skill, strength and daring - was a distinctive and dominant attitude in the amusement life of first century Rome. It gave color to the whole social outlook, as is clearly reflected in the attitudes of the early Christians.[16] Through such experiences the drab life of the common man was brightened temporarily. He found in them a sort of vicarious compensation for his own lack of personal achievement and status. But they also exerted a powerful influence toward cruelty, brutality, coarseness, and a cheapening of human life.

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[14] Halliday, Lectures on the History of Roman Religion (Liverpool, 1922), pp. 150 f.

The feeling of frustration and defeat in the face of a powerful and ruthless social order which was so common among the lower classes, was intensified by a consideration of their relation to cosmic powers. Astrological thinking which had come from the Orient had by the first century dominated the attitudes of high and low, educated and ignorant classes.[17] The heavenly bodies were seen to move according to fixed laws, and this same power of fate was applied to human life. This attitude finds its classic expression in the words of Manilius,[18] "Fata regunt orbem, certa stant

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[15] Davis, Infl. Wealth, p. 266. For a discussion of the spectacles see Friedländer, RLM, Vol. II, Ch. I, pp. 1-130.

[16] I Cor. 9:24-27; Phil. 3:14; Eph. 6:10-18; I Tim. 6:12; II Tim. 2:5; 4:7; Heb. 12:1.

[17] For its control over the emperors of the first century see Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, especially Tiberius XIV; Nero XXXVI, XL; Otho IV; Vitellius III; Titus IX; Domitian XIV, XV; Tacitus, Annals, I, 22; VI.20,21; XII.52. The standard modern work is Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York, 1912).

[18] Astronomica IV, 14.

omnia lege." The same author sets forth vividly the contrast between man's transitory and changing life, and the stability, eternity and immutability of the heavenly spheres.

> Thrones have perished, people passed from dominion to slavery, from captivity to empire, but the same months of the year have always brought up on the horizon the same stars. All things that are subject to death are also subject to change, the years glide away and lands become unrecognizable, each century transforms the features of nations, but Heaven remains invariable, and preserves all its parts; the flight of time adds nothing to them, nor does age take aught from them. It will remain the same for ever, because forever it has been the same. Thus it appeared to the eyes of our forefathers, thus will our descendants behold it. It is God, for it is unchangeable throughout the ages.[19]

If mortal man could but understand the relationship of these unchanging eternal astral powers to his destiny he might avoid disaster and achieve happiness. It was this astral influence upon mankind that astrologers claimed to reveal. The sway of this belief over men's minds dominated all classes. Pliny's statement of the situation is typical of what many sources reveal. He says, "There is no one who is not eager to learn his own future and who does not think that this is shown most truly by the heavens."[20]

The practical control over people's lives exerted by this current attitude is amazing in its scope and intensity. Cumont sums it up thus,

> The entire existence of states and individuals, down to the slightest incidents, was thought to depend on the stars. The absolute control they were supposed to exercise over everybody's daily condition, even modified the language in everyday use and left traces in almost all idioms derived from the Latin. If we speak of a martial, or a jovial character, or a lunatic, we are unconsciously admitting the existence, in these heavenly bodies (Mars, Jupiter, Luna) of their ancient

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[19] *Ibid.*, I, 495 ff.; quoted in Cumont, *ARGR*, pp. 106 f.

[20] *NH* XXX.1; quoted in L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*, 2 vols. (New York, 1923), I, 95; cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Bk. II; 21,56; Seneca, *Of Providence*, in *Minor Dialogues*, pp. 16 f.; trans. by Stewart (London, Eng. 1889); cf. Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* (London, 1892), especially pp. 170 f., 437.

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> qualities....The custom arose of stating in epitaphs the exact length of life to the very hour, for the moment of birth determined that of death: Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet. Soon neither important nor small matters were undertaken without consulting the astrologer. His provisions were sought not only in regard to great public events like the conduct of a war, the founding of a city, or the accession of a ruler; not only in case of a marriage, a journey, or a change of domicile; but the most trifling acts of everyday life were gravely submitted to his sagacity. People would no longer take a bath, go to the barber, or manicure their fingernails without first awaiting the propitious moment.[21]

Logically interpreted, the decrees of these astral powers were certain, inexorable, inescapable. They must be carried out relentlessly. But human wishes provided a way of escape from the crushing fatalism of this merciless logic. By learning from the astrologers the fates decreed for them, people felt that they could escape the impending ills. To be fore-warned was to be fore-armed. Through placation of these astral deities they sought release from the fateful decrees arrayed against them. Moreover, they refused to accept all of these powers as evil. Some of them must be regarded as helpful. These were besought with the proper rites to guarantee security, satisfaction, and protection against the menacing forces of evil. But at best life was still very precarious and filled with much potential harm from these astral spirits that controlled each day's existence. People welcomed eagerly any message of release from them through alliance with beneficent, divine powers.

IV. Physical Well-Being

This intimate problem of human welfare, already touched indirectly in some of its aspects, was often very acute, especially among the lower classes with whom we are most concerned. To the dangers involved in malnutrition from insufficient or improper food, and in diseases from lack of proper sanitation, should be added the menace from frequent famines, plagues, fires, floods and occasional earthquakes. Rome's location on the Tiber with extensive marshes subjected her to repeated if not constant danger of malaria,[22] one of the chief causes of death in the imperial period. The floods which often overwhelmed the city were sometimes followed by famine and plague, as happened in 69 and again in 108 or 109.[23] The gravity of the situation was intensified by the destruction of the grain in the great public warehouses along the docks. Houses, too, were often undermined and washed away, with considerable loss of life. Fires took their heavy toll of life and property. These were frequent during the first century. Just a few years after the famous fire of Nero's reign there was one under Titus which raged for three days.[24] In addition to these various forms of hazards to health and security must be noted the dangers from the attacks of ruffians on the streets at night and the incessant noise and tumult. All in all, there were many aspects of the life of the Roman which presented serious perils to his health and physical well-being.

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[21] Cumont, ARGR, pp. 166, 165.

It was to some of the common people living in this environment that the Gospel of Mark came. We shall turn now to the functions which demons played in these experiences, as the background for evaluating the message of this Gospel for them.

B. The Functions of Demons in Roman Life

I. In Relation to Political Experiences

Our interest here is in discovering those harmful superhuman forces which endangered the political stability of the empire. This will involve dangers that threatened the emperor, the army, and civil officials as representatives of the state, as well as the people themselves. Our concern is not limited to those forces which were called demons, nor inclusive of all powers so designated, for these varied greatly in nature and functions. Some demons were harmful, others helpful, in their activities.[25] We are not interested in technical terminology but in a vital type of human experience: the safeguarding of the empire from all maleficent powers of superhuman character.

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[22] Cf. J.S. Elliott, Outlines of Greek and Roman Medicine (New York, 1914), p. 66.

[23] Friedländer, RLM, I, 23 f.

[24] Ibid., pp. 21 ff.

From the earliest days of Rome's existence as a political unit, religion and patriotism had been inseparable. The fundamental purpose of the performance of the established cult ries was to insure the safety, success and prosperity of the state. These depended ultimately upon the good will and support of the various Roman deities, and the most meticulous observance of the cultus was the only way to enlist this divine favor. From the days of the Republic down to the declining years of the empire, Rome's greatness was repeatedly attributed to her loyalty to the immortal gods, and her defeats and disasters to her neglect of the divinely ordained worship.[26] This faith was shared alike by the educated classes and the populace. The strong public support of Augustus' revival of the old Roman cultus reveals clearly the general conviction of its necessity for the common welfare. The building of new temples, the reestablishment of the rites of many of the ancient deities, and the elaboration of the cultus enlisted the loyalty of the people because such observances seemed indispensable to national security and protection.[27] Only thus could they be safeguarded against the hostile environing forces.

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[25] See *infra*, pp. 315-23.

[26] Among classical writers representing this view are: Polybius VI.56; Livy VI; 51; VIII.9; XLIV.1; Horace, *Odes*, III.6; Cicero, *op. cit.*, I.2.3; II.3; *De Leg.* II.11.27; *De Har. Resp.* 9, 19. Cf. Titus' address to his soldiers, Josephus, *War*, VI.1.5; also Tertullian, *Apology* 25; Petronius, *Sat.* 44; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1899), p. 333; *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), pp. 43 ff. with nn; Case, *Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times* (New York, 1929), Ch. VI.

In the political sphere there were two major areas that needed protection from demonic powers, (1) domestic political relations, and (2) relations with foreign peoples.

1. Political Experiences at Home

Religious and political interests continued to be indissolubly bound together in imperial times. In fact this inseparable relationship between religion and the life of the state was characteristic of the whole history of Rome. It is clearly described by Dill.

> ...the religion of Numa was probably more than any other intertwined with the whole life of the people. It penetrated the whole fabric of society; it consecrated and dignified every public function, and every act or incident of private life. To desert the ancient gods was to cut oneself off from Roman society, as the Christians were sternly made to feel. No established Church in modern Christendom has probably ever so succeeded in identifying itself with the national life in all its aspects. Alike under the Republic and under the Empire, religion was inseparable from patriotism. The imperial pontiff was bound to watch over the purity and continuity of the Latin rites. He might be a scoffer like Nero, or a spiritually-minded Stoic like M. Aurelius, an Isiac devotee like Commodus, or devoted to the Syrian worships like the Oriental princes of the third century. But he took his duties seriously. He would dance with the Salii, or accept with gratitude the mastership of the Arval brotherhood, or order a lectisternium to ward off a pestilence or a menacing invasion....The imperial policy, founded by Augustus, no doubt inspired much of this conformity. But old Roman sentiment, the passion expressed with such moving eloquence by Symmachus, to feel himself in touch with a distant past through a chain of unbroken continuity, was the great support of the State

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[27] Cf. Dill, RSNA, pp. 533-44; Case, ESECT, pp. 205, 219 f., Carter, The Religion of Numa (London, 1906), pp. 155 f., 174 f.

religion in the fourth century as in the first.[28]

a. Fear of evil forces in early Roman religion.- Fear of superhuman forces was a powerful element in this ingrained conservatism of Roman religion. From the earliest times the people had been surrounded by potent though dimly understood forces which controlled their world of experience. These vaguely defined potencies were a constant menace. Society could be safeguarded against them only through the assiduous performance of proper cult rites of placation. These animistic forces - the so-called deities of early Roman religion - were shadowy figures rather than real gods, and were approached and "worshipped" chiefly through fear. It was the task of the political leaders to insure the safety of their people by the most meticulous observance of the cultus of these menacing powers. As was the case with much of early Greek religion, primitive Roman rites were performed to threatening superhuman forces to ward off their possible attacks.[29] The formula expressing the fundamental attitudes of the worshipper was "Do ut abeas" - "I give that you may keep away." The central purpose of the rites was clearly apotropaic.

The forces which endangered the common welfare were varied, often invisible, but always powerful and sinister. Storms, floods, blight to crops, drought; barrenness of soil, of animals and of the human family; malarial fevers, pestilences and other diseases; and attacks by wild animals, hostile tribes and the spirits of the departed were frequent perils in early Roman life. Against all of these the political officials must safeguard their people. The religion of the state was concerned with the performance of those acts which would insure the protection of the whole group from these ever-present environing ills. It was intensely practical and conservative. It was dominated by the attitude of awesome fear and dread toward these mighty, mysterious forces that must be placated. Roman rites were for the most part gloomy and cheerless, grim procedures carried out with the greatest seriousness and concern.

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[28] RSNA, pp. 545 f. In spite of statements of the intellectuals such as Polybius (VI.56) and Strabo (Geog. I.2.8) that the public cultus was carried on for its apologetic value in controlling the populace through fear, the great mass of evidence points to a genuine belief in the divine powers by the rulers as well as the crowds. Roman religion, with all the changes it underwent in the syncretistic period of the empire, remained rooted in a thoroughgoing supernaturalism, which dominated the social order from slave to emperor. Cf. Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, pp. 157 f., 251 f.; Dill, RSNA, p. 5 and n. 1; Case, Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times, especially Ch. VI; The Social Origins of Christianity (Chicago, 1923), pp. 219-31, 255 f.

[29] Cf. Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1908), Ch. I for an enlightening discussion of this aspect of Greek religion, with some Roman parallels.

b. Evil forces to be averted in imperial times: astral powers.- The emergence of the empire intensified the problem of insuring religious protection. The empire was vast and heterogeneous. Life was increasingly complex. Upon the emperor rested tremendous responsibility for safeguarding his people against menacing superhuman powers. His own position was often very precarious. This made it doubly important that all possible evils be averted. The syncretistic character of Roman life gave a new emphasis in the interpretation of the nature of these hostile forces. Increasingly human ills and dangers were attributed, either directly or indirectly to astral powers. Emperors as well as the masses of people were brought under the all-embracing sweep of this astrological view of the origin of good and evil. The records of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dion Cassius are filled with incidents that reveal the utmost dependence of the Caesars upon astrology to avert perils that threatened themselves and their empire.[30] Practically every emperor of the first century lived in mortal terror that some astral phenomenon would portend his downfall or the rise of a successful aspirant to his royal power. To prevent the dissemination of such knowledge which would endanger their own imperial power, the emperors repeatedly banished astrologers from Rome and imposed severe penalties upon all violators of their decrees. But so strong was the popular demand for their indispensable knowledge that their influence grew in spite of persecution. As Dill aptly remarks, "Never was there a clearer proof of the impotence of government in the face of a deep-seated popular belief."[31]

But the imperial fears of the heavenly powers were by no means limited to their own personal dangers. They were vitally concerned with averting drought, pestilence, insurrection and other national disasters brought upon the people by baneful planets and stars.[32] So pervasive did astral thinking become that certain days, months, and years were regarded as superhuman forces portending evil to individuals and kingdoms.[33]

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[30] Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars: Tiberius, XIV, LXIII, LXIX, LXX; Nero, XXXIV, XXXVI, XL; Galba, XVIII, Otho, IV, VII, VIII; Vitellius, III, XI, XIV; Titus, V, VIII, IX; Domitian X, XIV, XV, XVI; Tacitus, Annals, II.32,50,62; VI.21 f.; XII.52; History, I.22; II.78; Dion Cassius, XLIX.43; LXVI.10; LXVII.15; Cf. Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago, 1911), p. 130 f.; p.259,n81. Dill, RSNA, p. 448 ff.

[31] Dill, RSNA, p. 447.

[32] Virgil, Aeneid III.141; X.273-5; Petronius, Satiricon, sec. 2 (Heseltine's trans. in LCL (London, 1913), p. 5); Pliny, NH, II.6,39; XVIII.5,57,58,59,78; Apollonius Rhodius, I.1201 f.; Wissowa, Die Religion und Kultus der Römer (München, 1912), pp. 365-76. For a discussion of probable Mandaic influence on the thought of planets as baneful spirits, see Montgomery, AITN, p. 71 and nn. 18-20; also texts No. 4, line 6 and No. 34, line 6

[33] The "Ides of March" was an inauspicious time, cf. Jastrow, Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions (New York, 1914), p. 150 and n. 2 for sources. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904), p. 80 f. and n. 1 p. 81; p. 74, n. 1, shows justification for interpreting Gal. 4:10 in terms of astrological deities. Cf. also Col. 2:8,16; Ep. to Diognetus, ch. 4. For the Aeons as deities, sometimes the survivals of ancient demonology, see

The ideas about these astral forces of harm were very diverse and the names applied to them varied in different circles of thought. Attention has already been called to the general terms Fate, Fortune, and Destiny which by multitudes were held to be the supreme arbiters of man's experiences for good or ill.[34] The use of the names of specific planets, stars and constellations as bearers of harm has likewise been noted.[35] In addition to these, there are three types of astral spirit forces of particular significance, (1) Decans, (2) στοιχεῖα and (3) Daemons.

Belief in the Decans flourished particularly in Egypt but was spread also to other circles, apparently reaching Rome by the first century.[36] Their extensive control over human destinies finds classic expression in a Hermetic passage preserved by Stobaeus. Though later than our period, the attitude represented is one which was fairly constant and is typical of the first

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Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 269 ff.; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 89, n. 131; text No. 19, pp. 196-98; Dieterich, *Abraxas* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 140, line 51; p. 192, line 21; p. 203, line 18. For the Goddess of the Great Bear Constellation as a baleful deity, *see* Paris Papyrus, to line 1377; quoted by Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss., philos-hist. cl.*, XLII. Part II (Wien, 1893-94), p. 32, n.

[34] *See also* Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 77 f. and nn.; Cumont, *ARGR*, Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II.21,56; Tacitus, *Annals*, VI.22; Seneca, *Of Providence*, pp. 16 f. of Stewart's trans. of the *Minor Dialogues*; Virgil, *Aeneid*, I.204-6, 257-83, 381 ff.; II.13 f.; III.716 f.; IV.340 ff., 438 ff.; XII.110 ff., 138-53; Stobaeus, *Phys*. IV.8; V.20; in Mead., *Thrice Greatest Hermes*, 3 vols. (London, 1906), III.57,60; Polybius, XXXVII.9; Pliny, *NH*, II.22; Asc. III.39 f., in Scott, *Hermetica*, I.363 f.; III.121.

[35] *See* esp. the references in n. 32 and further sources there cited. For the sinister influence of Saturn in Mandaean thought *see* Pallis, *Mandaean Studies* (London, 1926), p. 20; for other astral evil powers, pp. 186 f., and n. 6, with sources there cited.

[36] For a list of sources covering a period of practically 2000 years of belief in the Decans, *see* Parthey, "Zwei gr. Zauber-Papyri d. Berl. Mus.," *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berl.*, pp. 1865; notes on No. 1, line 207, p. 143 f.

century. The passage is in the form of a conversation between Hermes and his son Tat.

> Tat. Tell me then, father, do the Decans act on us men also?
>
> Hermes. Yes, my son, they act on us most potently. If they act on the heavenly bodies, how could it be that they should not act on us also, both on individual men and on communities? The force which works in all events that befall men collectively comes from the Decans; for instance, overthrows of kingdoms, revolts of cities, famines, pestilences, overflowings of the sea, earthquakes, - none of these things, my son, take place without the working of the Decans....For if the Decans rule over the seven planets, and we are subject to the planets, do you not see that the force set in action by the Decans reaches us also, whether it is worked by the Decans themselves or by means of the planets. And besides this, my son, you must know that there is yet another sort of work which the Decans do; they sow upon the earth the seed of certain forces, some salutary and others most pernicious, which the many call daemons.[37]

The Decans are here clearly presented as the superastral forces that control the lesser powers, the planets and the demons. This implies something of a hierarchy of heavenly powers, with varying degrees of authority and definite interrelationships.[38] Paul is moving in the same though-world in Romans 8:38 f. when he exclaims,

> For I am persuaded that neither...angels, nor principalities ἀρχαὶ ...nor powers δυνάμεις , nor height ὕψωμα nor depth βάθος, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Angus shows even more clearly the astral implication of the passage in his translation, "...neither the Ascension of the stars nor their Declinations" shall be able to separate Christians from their divine Lord.[39] The reality and potency of the astral hierarchy as the deadly enemy of the Christians is vividly pictured in Ephesians 6:12.

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[37] Stobaeus, Excerpt VI.7-9,11; quoted in Scott, Hermetica, I, 415.

[38] For a statement of varied interpretations of the functions of the Decans see Scott, Hermetica, III.363-73.

[39] Angus, Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World (New York, 1929), p. 36.

> For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.[40]

The term στοιχεῖα, or more fully τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, was also applied to cosmic powers associated with the heavenly regions.[41] By it were often designated the four primal elements of the cosmos: fire, air, water and earth, located in tiers in the regions between the earth and the moon.

> To these four principles, as well as to the constellations, the Greeks gave the name of στοιχεῖα, and the Chaldeans worshipped the one as well as the other. The influence of Oriental religions, like that of Stoic cosmology, spread throughout the West the worship of these four bodies, believed to be elements, whose infinite variety of combinations gave rise to all perceptible phenomena....These elements were not only deified: they were themselves haunted by formidable powers; especially the zone of air, which envelops the earth, was the chosen home of demons, kindly or malignant beings, who occupied the middle space and served as intermediaries between gods and men, superior to the latter, inferior to the former.[42]

The elements and demons were subordinate to the power of the stars, being controlled by them.[43] Nevertheless they were powerful in the good or ill which they brought upon men.[44] The recent discovery of more extensive source materials on the

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[40] "... πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας, τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις." *See* Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 80 and n. 3 for astrological significance of Height in Magical Papyri. Cf. Eph. 1:21 and Abbott, *ICC* on Eph. *loc. cit.* For the Decans as astral powers, 36 in number and each controlling a portion of the human body, *see* Origen, *Cels*. VIII.58.

[41] For a variety of other uses of the term *see* Deissmann, "Elements" in *Enc. Bibl*. II cols. 1258-62; Burton, *Gal*., *ICC* (New York, 1920), pp. 510-18, with ample source materials.

[42] Cumont, *ARGR*, p. 121 f.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 122 f.

[44] For στοιχεῖα as evil cosmic powers *see* Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 80 f., and n. 5; n. 1, p. 81. In the Paris Papyrus, 1301 ff., one is called "impure" ἄφθαρτον, Wessely, "Neue gr. Zauber-Papyri," *Denks*. XLII (1893-94), Intro., p. 12 f.; *see also* Dieterich, Abraxas, pp. 57-62.

"elements" as astral powers has led to the interpretation of Galatians 4:3,8-10 in these terms. The Galatians in their pre-Christian days had rendered allegiance to these pagan heavenly powers who had enslaved them in their service. Now, however, although Christ by his superior authority has freed them from such bondage, they are in danger of again coming under their sway. As pagan deities these elements are regarded by Paul as hostile to the true God, to Christ and to their genuine devotees.[45] Devotion to their new-found deliverer liberates the Christians from all allegiance to, and from the dangerous influences of these astral powers, for the indwelling spirit of Christ gives complete mastery over all alien foes.[46]

In the demons we find the most familiar forces of harm. These evil spirits usually came into the closest contact with men, being generally regarded as intermediaries between the superior hostile powers and humanity. They were the agents that carried out the will of their chiefs as the good angels fulfilled the behests of the beneficent deities.[47] Although the demons were generally thought of as associated with the more intimate personal experiences of individuals, their operations also involved important dealings with cities and nations. This corporate function, along with other aspects of their nature and activity, is shown in a typical Hermetic passage.

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[45] Easton, "The Pauline Theology and Hellenism," American Journal of Theology, XXI (1917), 358-82 presents interestingly this point of view, with supporting evidence. Burton, however, loc. cit., questions this usage as early as the first century. But the sources of some works cited must go back to approximately this time.

[46] Cf. Rom. 8:38 f.; Eph. 1:19-22; 6:12-18; Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 2:8-15.

[47] That some of the demons were helpful in nature and mission has already been noted. See infra, pp.315-18for fuller discussion. For obvious reasons we are here concerned with those that were evil. The intermediary function is dealt with more fully, infra, pp.318-23.

> And to the sun is subject the troop of daemons, - or rather, troops; for there are many and diverse troops of them, placed under the command of the planets, an equal number of daemons being assigned to each planet. Thus marshalled in separate corps, the daemons serve under the several planets....To these daemons is given dominion over all things upon earth....They are also the authors of the disturbances upon earth, and work manifold trouble both for cities and nations collectively and for individual men. For they mould our souls into another shape, and pull them away to themselves, being seated in our nerves and marrow and veins and arteries, and penetrating even to our inmost organs. For at the time when each one of us is born and made alive, the daemons who are at that moment on duty as ministers of birth take charge of us, - that is, the daemons who are subject to some one planet. For the planets replace one another from moment to moment; they do not go on working without change, but succeed one another in rotation. These daemons then make their way in through the body, and enter into the two irrational parts of the soul; and each daemon perverts the soul in a different way, according to his special mode of action.[48]

The terms decans, elements and demons are thus seen to have applied to various ranks of harmful heavenly powers. They do not fit into one thoroughgoing, consistent system of astral demonology. But the presence of such similar attitudes in greatly divergent groups reveals widespread belief in, and fear of, these ever-present hosts of evil. The pervasiveness of the accompanying attitude is shown by a syncretistic passage in which the daemons exclaim, "We are the thirty-six elements (στοιχεῖα), the world-rulers of the darkness of this age."[49]

2. Relations with Foreign Peoples

Since the beginning of the second century B.C. Rome had been a great world power. Her foreign relations therefore were a very important element in the maintenance of a strong state. These contacts with other peoples involved imminent dangers, all of which were closely bound up with superhuman forces.

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[48] Corp. Herm. XVI.13-15; in Scott, Hermetica, I, 269 f. Cf. II.149; I.155; Angus, RQGRW, pp. 37-41; Mead, Thrice Greatest Hermes, II.273-95; Diogenes Laer. VIII.19.

[49] Test. Sol. XVIII.2; p 51 of McCown's text (Leipzig, 1922); cf. Abbott, CPAR, p. 182.

a. War as an experience involving dangers from superhuman powers.- War was a great crisis experience, not only for the individuals who faced death in battle, but for the nation as a whole. The security, stability and permanence of the whole social order were dependent on its outcome. Hence the need for the greatest care in preparation for it, not only from a strictly military point of view, but also from the religious. Every precaution must be taken to secure the favor and protection of helpful deities and avert the enmity of hostile powers.

Ancient records of Roman military history abound in accounts of rites of purification (Lustratio) performed by the army and the navy before joining battle.[50] The purpose is clearly the removal of any ritualistic barriers or taboos that would endanger either the life of the individual soldier or the success of the Roman arms. Its apotropaic character is shown in Appian's account of Octavian's lustratio for his fleet.

> The altars are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who perform the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carry the expiatory offering in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet. Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burn them, while the multitude chant in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet.[51]

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[50] Appian, Iber. 19; Civil Wars, IV.89; V.96; Livy, XXIX. 27.5; XXXVI.42.2; XXXVIII.37.8; Cicero, Ad Atticum, i.13.1; v.20.2; Dio Cassius XLVII.38.4; XLVII.40.7; cf. Domaszewski, Abh. zur röm. Rel. (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 16-18 and notes

[51] Appian, Rom. Hist., Civil Wars, Bk. V. Ch. 10; trans. Horace White, LCL, 4 vols. (London, 1912-13), IV.539 ff. Cf. Fowler's reference to the lustratio as a ceremony "at the bottom of which seems to lie the idea of getting rid of evil spirits and influences," (RERP, p. 226, cf. pp. 214 f.) As has been noted supra (pp.217-34), ritualistic defilement, taboo, etc. were intimately bound up with evil spirits and rites of purification were definitely exorcistic in character.

The calendar of Numa in early Roman life made provisions for a number of lustration ceremonies for the army each year. These were most frequent in March, the month when the armies began their annual campaigns. On the 14th (also February 27) were performed the Equirria or lustrations for the horses of the military hosts. On the 19th the weapons of war were purified by the rites of the Salii. On the 23d (and May 23d) occurred the Tubilustrium to purify the trumpets for effective service in the campaign.[52] Fowler clearly points out the purpose of these lustrations: to protect the army and its equipment against all hostile forces, of which the superhuman agencies were the most potent.

> ...we see in the festivals of this month a complete religious process preparing the material of war for the perils to be met with beyond the ager Romanus, whether from human or from spiritual enemies; and that the warriors themselves were subjected to a process of the same kind we know from the historical evidence of later times.[53]

At Iguvium in Umbria before a military campaign was begun the lustratio was performed with great care. A procession marched three times around the assembled army, pausing after each circuit to offer a sacrifice to Mars and two female associates. Protection against dangerous forces - probably both human and superhuman - seems clearly to be the purpose of these elaborate rites.[54]

When the Roman hosts returned in October from their campaign they were again purified by lustrations. The same series of rites was repeated "in order to rid men, horses, arms and trumpets of such evil contagion as they might have contracted during their absence."[55] That a large portion of this "evil contagion" came from contact with superhuman perils is obvious.

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[52] In two connections the trumpets were used to guard against invisible evil influences. At the sacrifices they were blown to drown all ill-omened sounds that might break the efficacy of the rites. And in war they were used to drive away all menacing powers of evil that imperilled the army. Cf. Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy, p. 96; Burriss, Taboo, Magic, Spirits (New York, 1931), pp. 39 f.; Frazer, The Fasti of Ovid (London, 1931), II, 235.

[53] Fowler, RERP, p. 97.

[54] Ibid., pp. 215 f. and n. 49; p. 222.

Because of the constant dangers faced in their daily activities soldiers were especially susceptible to belief in portents, prodigies and omens of all kinds. They regarded such phenomena as unfailing evidence of impending good or ill. Many of Rome's foremost military leaders were thus profoundly influenced in the conduct of their campaigns.[56] Tacitus tells of a serious mutiny of soldiers that was effectively quelled by an eclipse of the moon. This appalling phenomenon struck terror into their ranks and instantly "cowed" the most daring.[57] Fear of superhuman powers was the most effective means of social control in the ancient world.

b. Taboo from contacts with foreigners.- Contacts with an alien people and a foreign land were fraught with other perils. Among many peoples in the ancient world the stranger was "charged" with a dangerous potency or "mana" that threatened with grave disaster the member of another group whom it touched.[58] The habits, customs, environment and experiences of the foreigner were different, therefore unfamiliar. And the unfamiliar was always fraught with the possibility of serious danger, because of the lack of the necessary technique of adjustment in the new situation. The most imminent peril lay in contact with the unseen spirit forces of the foreigner. Even the major deities of a foreign people, though beneficent to their own devotees, would be a deadly menace to invading enemies.

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[55] Ibid., p. 217; cf. p. 97.

[56] Lucan, Pharsalia, I.523-83; VII.151-84; Dio Cassius, Bk. XLVII, chs. 40, 41; Suetonius, Claudius, I; Tacitus, Annals, II.17. Prodigia were officially regarded as expressions of superhuman power and the pontifical college reported to the senate the best methods of expiating them. Cf. Fowler, RERP, p. 281.

[57] Tacitus, Annals, I.28-30.

[58] Frazer, Golden Bough: Vol. III. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, 12 vols. (3d ed.; London, 1907-15), pp. 101-16, 157-90.

The Romans often faced this situation and clearly recognized the dangers inherent in it. They were extremely cautious in these relationships and very careful to ward off all harmful spirits involved. The lustrations already considered, both before and after the campaigns, were performed with a realization of the increased dangers threatening them because of contacts with foreigners. On one occasion a Roman consul forced some conquered Samnites to serve in the "linen legion" of his army. They were inducted into it with magical rites, in an enclosure covered with linen. This material and the ceremony were apparently regarded as potent to drive away the evil forces that were thought to be attached to foreigners. The practices for warding off such dangers were not confined to the military forces. The stranger might be dangerous even in Rome. There were certain sacrifices offered in the city which foreigners were forbidden to attend. At such times the lictor proclaimed, "hostis, vinctus mulier virgo exesto."[59] Fowler is evidently right in interpreting the term hostis here in its early meaning of stranger. Down to the end of the imperial period ceremonies for protection from the dangerous mana of the stranger were performed. After Alaric's invasion of Rome, lustration rites were observed to remove the contamination which the city suffered from his presence.[60]

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[59] Verrius Flaccus, in Plutarch, Numa, p. 10; quoted in Fowler, RERP, p. 30 and n. 20; cf. ibid., p. 32: "The stranger is dangerous....He may have the evil eye." At Iguvium the magistrate expelled certain foreigners by a thrice-repeated proclamation. Even today in parts of Italy a stranger is sometimes looked upon as the devil. Cf. ibid., p. 31 and sources. See also Burriss, TMS, pp. 105 ff.

Precautions were likewise taken by Roman officials going to foreign lands on political missions.

> ...the organized college of Fetiales...on entering as envoys a foreign territory, were fully protected by their sacred herbs, carried by a *verbenarius*, against all hostile contamination.[61]

The Roman fear of hostile influences involved in foreign contacts also finds expression in the triumphal procession of a returning army, in their treatment of prisoners and in their dealings with foreign cults.

> ...the passage of a triumphing army through the Porta triumphalis, which probably was an isolated arch in the Campus Martius just outside the city wall, most likely had as its original meaning the separation of the host from the profane world in which it had been moving....
>
> To the same class of ideas, if I am not much mistaken, belongs the familiar Italian practice of compelling a surrendered army to pass under the yoke...it may well have been that it had its root in a process which was supposed to deprive the conquered enemy of all dangerous contagion - to separate them from their own land and people before they came into peaceful contact with their conquerors.[62]

Thus the custom of passing under the yoke had a deeper significance in addition to its obvious symbolism of submission. It was fundamentally an apotropaic rite for driving away the spirit forces which were a deadly menace to the Roman state.[63] Perhaps to some extent it even involved a severing of the prisoners' allegiance to their former deities, and "naturalized" them as devotees of the gods of Rome. If this interpretation is valid, the welfare and security of the Roman state were doubly assured. Dangerous evil powers were kept away and the favor of the Roman deities was made more certain by bringing the new inhabitants of the land under their control.

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[60] Claudianus, *De Saxto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, 324-3-; reference in Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 153 f. and n. 18; cf. pp. 39 f.

[61] Fowler, *RERP*, p. 31 and n. 22, p. 43.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 217 f. It is significant to note that there was carried in the car of the triumphator a *fascinum* which served as a *medicus invidiae* (so Pliny). It served much the same purpose as did the *bulla* worn by the Roman child. As Fowler aptly remarks, "The triumphing general needed special protection." *Ibid.*, p. 60. Clearly the source of danger was superhuman.

[63] *See* Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, pp. 96-98 for a fuller presentation of this point of view. While specific passages in support of this interpretation are meager, the general atmosphere of ancient Rome is strongly in favor of it. In the same ceremony the soldiers who followed the general's car in the triumphal procession wore laurel garlands. These apparently had apotropaic significance also. The soldiers were thus enabled to "enter the

The apotropaic function of ornaments and amulets worn upon the body is well attested in antiquity. Perhaps the linen worn on the soldier's breastplate served this purpose by averting the spirits of slain enemies. Shortly before Galba's assassination, he put on a linen cuirass although he openly expressed serious doubts of its power against so many hostile swords.

Rome's attitude toward admitting deities of foreign cults exhibits the same type of caution. The bringing of alien cults into the capital city was permitted only under unusual circumstances or urgent necessity in a public crisis, and even then their temples were set up outside the sacred boundary line, the pomerium.[64] The most striking cases of the adoption of foreign cults were the introduction of Aesculapius during the deadly pestilence of 293 B.C. and of the Magna Mater of Pessinus in the grave crisis of the Punic wars. In both cases they were imported only after receiving the divine authority of the Sibylline Books.[65]

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city with the stain of blood removed, and to ward off the ghosts of the slain enemies" (Burriss, TMS, pp. 154 f.); cf. Festus, Laureati, Mueller, p. 117.

[64] Fowler, RERP, pp. 94, 214 f., 225-33. The cult of the Great Mother from Pessinus in Phrygia was the notable exception, to be explained by the imminent crisis of the Hannibalic Wars. But even so, the cult remained largely foreign. Cf. Fowler, ibid., pp. 330 f.

[65] Ovid, Metam. XV.622-745; Livy X.47.7; cf. Fowler, RERP, pp. 260, 330, 344, 348.

But even under these extreme conditions of peril the cults were not completely "naturalized" in Rome. In a very real sense they were still foreigners. The official recognition of too many alien deities might easily threaten political dissension and the disintegration of the solidarity of the state, by weakening the divine support vouchafed by the native gods.[66] Hence the customary caution and conservatism of the Roman prevailed to keep at a safe distance all spirits hostile to the general welfare.[67]

c. Dangers from ghosts of the slain.- The warrior who had shed blood in battle was thereby contaminated. The taboo attaching to him could be removed only through the performance of the proper ritual to cleanse him of all defilement. Washing in water might be sufficient to take it away.[68] In other cases a more elaborate ceremony known as the armilustrium was necessary. This was performed on the Aventine hill in Rome which was outside the sacred boundary or pomerium. All impurity that still clung to the warrior and his arms was thus expelled, and kept outside the sacred limits of the city.[69]

What was the taboo to be removed by such rites? As already noted, contact with foreigners involved relations with dangerous spirits. But another factor also seems to have played an important part here. A different kind of evil spirit was involved. The ghost of the slain enemy would seek vengeance on the slayer, but would be placated by appropriate rites or driven away by powerful formulae of expulsion.[70] In the light of the deep-seated fear of ghosts which pervaded the attitudes of the time these realistic ceremonies of riddance were of profound importance for the safety of the state.

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[66] Case clearly shows how the supernaturalistic psychology operated to produce official persecution of the Christians, and later to the acceptance of this faith; Social Origins of Christianity, pp. 219-31, 255 f.

[67] Cf. Dion of Halicarnassus, Rom. Arch., II.18; quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Ev., II.8; Dion Cassius, LIV.6. For the pomerium as a defense against hostile spirit forces in Roman life see Carter, The Religion of Numa, pp. 33 ff.

[68] Virgil, Aen. II.717-20.

[69] Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy, pp. 98 f.

Another possible influence toward intensifying the significance of a superhuman power of evil came through the contacts of the Roman armies with Mithraism. Since the eastern campaigns of Pompey, Roman soldiers had been familiar with the Persian dualism in its Mithraic form.[71] The assumption seems reasonable that at least many of the Roman troops would thus have had intensified their attitude of fear of the supreme cosmic power of evil. At any rate it would furnish them with cumulative "evidence" for the reality of such a power.

In both domestic and foreign aspects of her political problems Rome was brought into intimate contact with powerful, menacing forces of evil. They inspired fear and caution on the part of her political leaders in their attempts to safeguard the interests of the empire.

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[70] While extensive evidence of specific instances interpreted in this way, is not available to prove this position beyond question, the presence of these attitudes in general is clear. Fear of ghosts was prevalent and powerful down into the imperial age. See Suetonius, Nero, XXXIV; Pliny, NH, XXX.2(5). And certainly such fears would be intensified in the case of departed spirits of the enemy. For such attitudes among other groups see Frazer, GB: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, pp. 101-16, 157-90.

[71] Willoughby, "The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religion," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1924, gives a good summary of these contacts, with sources.

II. Functions of Evil Powers in Relation to Economic Interests

To understand this situation in the first century we must first get an appreciation of the economic significance of evil forces in primitive times. Early Roman life was primarily pastoral and agricultural. The shepherd-farmer lived in firsthand contacts with natural forces that determined his existence and welfare. He was dealing directly with the fundamental aspects of environment upon which he was wholly dependent for food, shelter and protection. A multitude of factors affected his food supply, and every force that menaced it needed to be warded off with the greatest care.

1. Dangers that Threatened the Food Supply

There were possible dangers involved in the movements of the heavenly bodies; in wind, rain, hail, lightning, and other violent expressions of the elements of nature; in swollen streams in flood, in fierce animals and pestiferous insects, in rust and other forms of plant diseases, in hostile powers - human and invisible - that might attack at any time. All of these forces were social objects to the early Romans: they were influenced by and responded realistically to human actions concerning them.

a. Heavenly bodies.- The sun, moon, stars, planets and constellations were powers with a direct bearing on economic as well as political life. They governed the seasons, with the accompanying success or failure of the crops. Certain positions of the heavenly bodies were fraught with peril for the farmer and his produce. On such critical days unusual precautions must be taken to insure safety.[72] The phases of the moon were held to be determinative for the successful planting of crops and similar agricultural operations.[73] Trees must be felled according to the lunar phenomena.[74] The weather was forecasted on the basis of the positions and conditions of sun, moon, stars, thunder, clouds and other natural elements.[75] The baneful influence of hostile constellations must be averted with recognized ceremonies.[76] Thus, the destructive heat of the Dog Star was warded off by the Robigalia Festival. This was still observed in the time of Ovid who witnessed it and discussed its meaning with the officiating priest.[77] Pausanias records a procedure followed at Phlius in Greece to insure protection against the deadly blight brought upon the vines by hostile astral powers.

> In the market-place stands a bronze she-goat, mostly gilded. It is worshipped by the Phliasians for the following reason: The constellation which they name the Goat always blights the vines at its rising, and to avert its baleful influence they worship the bronze goat in the market-place, and adorn it with gold.[78]

The burning heat of the sun, that might prove dangerous to the freshly-harvested crop, was guarded against by the Volcanalia rites of August 23d.[79] The potency of the planetary and astral forces for harm was thus as great in relation to securing food as it was in connection with political safety.[80]

b. The elements of nature.- Violent expressions of natural forces such as storms, thunder, lightning and floods were regarded with awesome dread by the Romans. Men quailed in terror as these mighty forces took their toll of life or property. It is easy to understand the superstitious fear which saw in these phenomena the activities of superhuman potencies that must be placated.[81] The early Romans offered sacrifices to the *tempestates* that ruled the waves, to insure their safety when venturing on the sea.[82] In the time of Hadrian the Third Legion erected an altar to Jupiter, the power in control of the tempests.[83] We read in Juvenal, of the terrors caused by thunderstorms. He says, "There are those who tremble and blanch at every lightning flash; and when it thunders they are helpless even on the first rumbling in the sky."[84] With all due allowance for possible exaggeration in the satirist's statement, the basic attitude of fear remains unquestioned. In earlier times it must have been at least as intense, and probably much more prevalent. The paralyzing fear of the Roman emperors in the face of such phenomena furnishes ample evidence on this point.[85]

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[72] Pliny, NH, XVIII.69; cf. XXX.1; Thorndike, HMES, I.95.

[73] Pliny, NH, XVIII.75.

[74] Ibid., XVI.74.

[75] Ibid., XVIII.78-86.

[76] Ibid., XVIII.69.

[77] Ovid, Fasti, IV.941 f.; Burriss, TMS, pp. 139 f. and notes.

[78] Pausanias, Description of Greece, II.13.6; Frazer's trans. (London, 1898), I, 90 f.

[79] Fowler, RERP, p. 101.

[80] Cf. supra, pp. 255-61.

With this dread of lightning so prevalent, the attempt to shun every place it had struck was quite natural. Such places were surrounded by low well-shaped walls with inscriptions indicating that the thunder-bolts had been properly buried. A lamb was offered in expiation and the sites were thereafter strictly taboo. Their *mana* was dangerous. Apparently there was a college of priests entrusted with this special function of "burying the thunderbolt." Once in Nero's reign the temples of Jupiter and Minerva were struck by lightning. On the advice of the soothsayers the whole city was purified. The grandfather of Galba once performed an expiatory sacrifice after a place had been struck by lightning. The laws of Numa imposed strict regulations for the disposal of the bodies of those who had been killed by lightning. Such persons must be buried, not cremated, but no burial rites might be performed.[86]

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[81] Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Ch. IV, pp. 22-24.

[82] Cicero, *De Deorum Natura*, III.20,51; quoted in Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 23

[83] *CIL*, VIII.2609; quoted in *ibid*., p. 23

[84] Juvenal XIII.223 f.; quoted in Burriss, *TMS*, p. 120.

[85] *See supra*, pp. 255 f. and n. 30.

While lightning may seem to have threatened human life directly rather than through the food supply, heavy rains, hail, frosts and floods endangered alike crops, domestic animals and men. Of the many forms of ritual performed to insure an adequate food supply it is impossible to tell how many were for protection against destructive forces of nature. But this purpose was an important factor in many of them. In Greece the Lychnis stone was used to protect the crops from hailstorms. The following prayer was uttered for protection against the hail-bringing spirits, the Keres.

> "Lychnis, from pelting hail be thou our shield,
> Keep off the Keres who attack each field."[87]

Pausanias tells of the method in use at Methana for insuring the budding vines against the devastating southwest winds.

> When the vines are budding, and a south-wester sweeps down on them from the Saronic Gulf, it blights the tender shoots. So, while the squall is still coming, two men take a cock, every feather of which must be white, rend it in two and run round the vines in opposite directions, each carrying a half of the cock, and when they come back to the place from which they started they bury the pieces there. This is their device

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[86] Burriss, TMS, pp. 120 f. and notes 142-49 for ample source citations. The importance of dealing with these phenomena suggests the significance of Jupiter as hurler of the thunderbolts.

[87] Orhpic Lithica, 268; quoted in Harrison, Prolegnomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 171.

for counteracting a south-wester.[88]

That one purpose of the *Lustratio* of the *Ager Romanus* by the Arval Brothers in May was similar to these rites in Greece is a strong probability. The apotropaic function of the ceremony is certain, as shown by the ritual used. A portion of the prayer ran as follows,

> Help us, O Lares
> O Mars, Mars, let not death and destruction overtake so many!
> Be sated, O cruel Mars![89]

Floods were common experiences of those living along the Tiber and other streams. That there were rites of protection against them and also a certain awesome dread of these watery powers is shown by an incident from Tacitus. The question was raised in the Senate as to the desirability of diverting the flow of some of the tributary lakes and rivers of the Tiber to prevent its dangerous inundations. The response and final decision are very revealing of the attitudes involved.

> The people of Reate...remonstrated against the closing up of the Veline lake, where it empties itself into the Nar, 'as it would burst in a flood on the entire neighborhood. Nature had admirably provided for human interests in having assigned to rivers their mouths, their channels, and their limits, as well as their sources, Regard, too, must be paid to the different religions of the allies, who had dedicated sacred rites, groves, and altars to the rivers of their country. Tiber himself would be altogether unwilling to be deprived of his neighbor streams and to flow with less glory.' Either the entreaties of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work or superstitious motives prevailed, and they yielded to Piso's opinion, who declared himself against any change.[90]

A potential menace to the food supply was the red rust or mildew which often attacked the grain just as the heads were form-ing. This obnoxious "rust devil" Robigus was warded off and placated by the Robigalia rites of April 25th performed by the priest of Quirinus.[91]

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[88] Pausanias, II.34.2 f.; Frazer's trans. I.124.

[89] Quoted in Friedländer, *RLM*, III.157. Cf. Fowler, *RERP*, pp. 78, 100, 212 f. *See also* Burriss, *TMS*, p. 141 regarding the ceremonies of the October horse.

[90] Tacitus, *Annals*, I.79; trans. by Church and Brodribb (London, 1900), p. 39.

c. Wild animals.- Much of the territory of Italy was wooded in early times. In these forests lurked many unknown dangers. Cato tells us that sacrifices were offered as a protection against evil influences when a forest was cleared.[92] These densely wooded regions might harbor many dangerous enemies, with whom the invading foresters must come to terms. The spirit powers would resent any encroachment on their territory. Dangerous animals often lived there and threatened any intruder. In some instances the woodlands harbored human enemies. At least one type of ritual, the Lucaria, was performed as a ceremony of aversion to free from harm the forests where a hostile army had appeared.[93] So strong was the feeling that danger lurked in the forests that as late as Pliny's time certain trees were still regarded as ill-omened.[94]

In the spring before the cattle and sheep were sent out into their summer pasture they were lustrated to insure protection against the manifold harmful influences that would threaten them in the wilder regions. These dangerous forces no doubt included wolves and other animals as well as disease, hunger, and other unseen powers. The rites of this Parilia festival, which are described in detail by Ovid, involved the following acts.

1. The sheep-fold was decked with green boughs and a green

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[91] Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy, pp. 50, 103; Granger, The Worship of the Romans (London, 1895), pp. 217 f.; Fowler, RERP, p. 100.

[92] Cato, De Agricultura CXXXIX; quoted in Burriss, TMS, pp. 204 f.

[93] Festus, Lucaria (Mueller, p. 119); reference in Burriss, TMS, p. 208.

[94] Pliny, NH, XVI.45.

wreath was hung on the gate....

2. At the earliest glimmer of daybreak the shepherd purified the sheep. This was done by sprinkling and sweeping the fold; then a fire was made of heaps of straw, olive-branches, and laurel, to give good omen by the crackling, and through this apparently the shepherds leapt, and the flocks were driven....Burning sulphur was also used....

3. After this the shepherd brought offerings to Pales, of whom there may perhaps have been in the farmyard a rude image made of wood; among these were baskets of millet and cakes of the same, pails of milk, and other food of appropriate kinds. The meal which followed the shepherd himself appears to have shared with Pales. Then he prays to the deity to avert all evil from himself and his flocks; whether he or they have unwittingly trespassed on sacred ground and caused the nymphs or fauni to fly from human eyes; or have disturbed the sacred fountains, and used branches of a sacred tree for secular ends....

This prayer must be said four times over, the shepherd looking to the east and wetting his hands with the morning dew....

4. Then a bowl is to be brought, a wooden antique bowl apparently, from which milk and pure sapa, i.e. heated wine, may be drunk, until the drinker feels the influence of the fumes, and when he is well set up he may leap over the burning heaps.[95]

This elaborate ceremony is ample evidence of the importance of securing complete protection from the menacing environing powers. But it was by no means the only ritual carried out with such a purpose. The Lupercalia of February 15 was also clearly apotropaic. In this rite the two young men called Luperci, clad in the skins of slaughtered goats and with brows smeared with blood, ran around the city striking with strips of the same skins all the women who came near them. The fertility aspect of this procedure will be considered elsewhere. Here we may note the purpose of warding off wolves and other hostile forces by means of the magic circle made around the city.[96] This ceremony is generally recognized as one of the most primitive rituals in Roman religion, going back to a time when the dangers to be encountered in the surrounding territories were most numerous, imminent and potent.[97] The need of protection from these perils was so great that the rite remained prominent into imperial times. But in place of the wolves and other dangerous animals that threatened the early Roman shepherd's live stock, the enemies were now almost wholly the unseen evil influences associated with Mars in whom were concentrated all the hostile spirits of the outlands.[98]

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[95] Fowler, Roman Festivals, pp. 80-82, passim. The chief sources are Ovid, Fasti, IV.735-82; Tibull. II.5.87 ff.; Propert IV.4.75 ff.; Probus on Virgil's Georgics III.1; Dionysius I.88 ff.; cf. Fowler, RERP, p. 100; Burriss, TMS, pp. 148 f.; Granger, WR, pp. 100 f. It is significant to note that the Parilia festival continued to be observed in rural communities down into imperial times. See Ovid, Fasti, IV.721-74; Fowler, RF, pp. 82-85.

[96] Cf. Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy, pp. 105-7.

d. Invisible alien powers.- As Fowler clearly shows, even the words februare and lustrare and their derivatives imply magical power of averting evils, many of which are hostile "spirit" forces.

> ...the word februum...meant an object with magical potency, such as water, fire, sulphur, laurel, wool, or the strips of the victims sacrificed at the Lupercalia, and the word februare meant to get rid of certain unwholesome or miasmatic influences by means of these objects....Varro, and Ovid... explicitly explain them as meaning purifying agents and processes, from which we may infer that they had a magical power to produce certain desired conditions, or to protect from evil influences, like charms and amulets.
>
> But lustrare and lustratio seem to belong to an age when the thing to be driven or kept away is rather spiritual mischief, and when the means used are sacrifices and prayers, with processional movement,...they themselves, in these rites as we know them, saw the means of getting rid of and so keeping away hostile spirits.[99]

This apotropaic purpose of many Roman rites is clearly revealed in the ancient sources. At the annual lustration of the farm, generally held in May, a throng of people wearing garlands, waving olive branches and chanting, marched in procession around the farm. They drove a pig, a sheep and a bull before them for a threefold circuit of the land, after which the sacrifice of the animals, the suovetaurilia, was made to Mars. It was accompanied by an offering of wine, and prayer to Jupiter and Janus. Cato's description shows its protective significance against hostile influences that menaced the farmer and his property.

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[97] Fowler, RERP, pp. 53 f., 106 f. In much more recent times the Italian farmer has used phylacteries to safeguard his cattle against invisible evil spirits. See Pradel, Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters (1907), p. 18 and references; 125, 127; ref. in Montgomery, AITN, p. 234.

[98] Cf. Burriss, TMS, pp. 161, 168, 170; Fowler, RERP, pp. 131-33.

[99] Fowler, RERP, pp. 210 f.

> The cultivated land should be purified as follows: Order the suovetaurilia to be driven around....First pray to Janus and to Jupiter, with offering of wine, and (then) say thus: Father Mars, I pray and entreat thee to be favorable and propitious to me, my home, and my slaves (familia); and with this aim I have ordered the suovetaurilia to be driven around my arable field, land, and farm, that thou mayest ward off, debar, and keep away from us diseases, seen and unseen, dearth, devastation, disasters, inclement weather; and that thou mayest permit the products, grain, vineyards, and shrubbery to come to full growth and prove a success; and that thou mayest keep the shepherds and their flocks safe, and grant good health and strength to me, my home, and my slaves; and to this end, as I have stated it - the purification and lustration of my farm, land, and cultivated field - be thou strengthened by this sacrifice of the suckling suovetaurilia.[100]

The "scapegoat" rites in connection with the Salii festival of March 14, were specifically for the purpose of expelling all evil influences that endangered the people, the live-stock and the crops of the farm. Here a man called Mamurius Veturius, clad in a goatskin, was beaten with staffs and driven from the community.

> The smiting of the scapegoat - probably representing Mars, the accumulated hostile spirits of the farm and, later, of the city, transferred to him the evils which were harmful to crops and flocks and men, and these were carried away when the scapegoat was driven out.[101]

These forms of protective ritual show a determined effort to keep outside their territory every evil power that could be excluded, and to expel at periodic intervals those that had succeeded in crossing the boundaries into their land or city. The boundary lines of farm or city were naturally of strategic significance as the outer line of defense against hostile invading influences. Attention has been called to the magic circle formed by the young men at the Lupercalia festival, to keep out dangerous forces. The procession of the Suovetaurilia met a similar need.

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[100] Cato, De Agricultura CXLI.1-3; quoted in Burriss, TMS, p. 168.

[101] Burriss, op. cit., p. 172; cf. Frazer, Golden Bough: The Scapegoat, pp. 229 ff.

The making of the pomerium or furrow which was plowed around the city of Rome was a solemn rite of great significance.

> As a divine barrier it (the pomerium) served originally in the world of the gods very much the same purpose as the material wall of stone did in the world of men. Before the problem of foreign gods had begun to exist for the Romans, ...the pomerium served to keep within the bounds of Rome all the beneficent kindly gods whose presence was not needed outside in the fields, and it served fully as important a purpose in keeping outside of Rome the gods who were feared rather than loved, for example the dread war-god Mars.[102]

The term "gods" as used of early Roman powers must here as always be interpreted as applying, not to fully developed personal deities, but to mysterious, vaguely understood, invisible potencies of good or ill. This ceremony is a clear case of the use of the magic circle for protection against demonic and other evils, a principle which underlies many of the rites of farm and city.

According to some of our best modern scholars, the Lares were originally the guardian spirits of the various farms and their inhabitants.[103] They were worshipped at the boundary lines where several farms met, apparently because at these boundaries their protective care was most needed. Here was the strategic place to block any threatened invasions by human, superhuman or animal forces, and the enlistment of all possible divine help, against them was of the utmost necessity. Terminus was the divine power that presided over boundaries to guarantee protection against fraud in moving boundary stones and against all dangers that might cross the lines. Ovid (Fasti, II.643 ff.) describes the picturesque ceremonies of the Terminalia, performed by the various members of the families of the adjoining farms. Offerings of fruits, honey, wine, a lamb and a sucking-pig were made, accompanied by garlanding of the boundary-stones and finally the sprinkling of them with the blood of the victims. The rite closed with a feast of rejoicing and songs in praise of Terminus for his protection against the unseen dangers that lurked at the boundary lines.

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[102] Carter, The Religion of Numa, pp. 33 ff.; cf. Burriss, TMS, pp. 165 ff.

[103] Carter, op. cit., p. 14; Fowler, RERP, pp. 77 f.

On various occasions images in human shape called oscilla were hung up where they could sway in the breezes. These were often placed at the crossroads, the convergence of several boundaries, as the most effective places to fulfill their apotropaic function, for they "were probably charms intended to ward off evil influences from the crops."[104]

2. Dangers in Business and Commercial Relationships

Experiences in business and commercial life were of course intimately bound up with the problems of the food supply that have just been discussed. But some aspects need separate consideration. During the early period of the republic, business and commercial activities developed very slowly. The Romans were so thoroughly rural in their interests that other activities were neither very essential nor particularly desirable. Business transactions took the form of exchange of products among themselves. Soon, however, new wants developed through contacts with Greek and Etruscan traders, from whom many new products were secured. But commercial life made only an indifferent appeal to the Roman. His inbred conservatism shrank from the adventurous life of the trader with its many potential dangers. By no means the least of these perils inhered in the contact with maleficent spirit powers.

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[104] Fowler, RERP, p. 62. Servius' statement that the oscilla were for the purpose of purifying the air is probably to be interpreted according to Frazer who refers it to the purging of the night air of vagrant spirits or baleful ghosts. GB, II, 454. See Fowler, RERP, n. 49, p. 67.

But in spite of this Roman antipathy to business and commercial activities the forces of life were inevitably sweeping them into a greater participation in them. With the extension of Roman power, first throughout Italy, then over the western Mediterranean world and finally into the East, the economic ties that bound Rome to her conquered territories were both strengthened and multiplied. The centuries of almost incessant warfare, with the accompanying deterioration of the soil, the decline in productivity, the bankruptcy of the old Roman farmer and his migration to fill the city's bread lines, the influx of multitudes of slaves of war from abroad, and the increasing demand for foreign luxuries, had produced a new Rome whose very existence was dependent upon increased industrial activity at home and extensive commerce abroad. This increasing complexity of life continued under the early empire. In spite of all the changes, however, the old fear persisted to a marked degree. It still found expression even in local business dealings. When an exchange of goods was to take place the wares were sprinkled with water from the spring of Mercury, a branch of laurel being used for the ceremony. In similar manner the heads of the participants in the transaction were sprinkled.[105] The procedure was evidently a form of purification, for protection against any possible dangers incurred in the deal. By this act the new owner could ward off any evil influence that was attached to the object purchased.[106] This danger of contamination through objects bought from others was increased greatly in the case of purchases from foreigners. It was doubly essential that their dangerous mana be warded off or neutralized by protective ceremonies. In the cosmopolitan world of the first century such perils lay on every hand, for people of all races and nations, were intermingled in the city's daily life.

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[105] Ovid, Fasti, V.673 ff.; Preller, Rom. Myth., 2 vols. (3d Aufl. by H. Jordan, Berlin, 1881-83), II, 232.

[106] See Granger, Worship of the Romans, p. 101, who regards it as clearly apotropiac. Cf. Burriss, TMS, pp. 148 f., 154 for other uses of the laurel as an agent of purification.

The need for divine support and protection in all business matters is reflected clearly in the place of honor held by the various Roman deities in the craft guilds. Minerva stood supreme in this field. At first the goddess of a number of handicrafts, worshipped by the workmen in their homes, she was later given a temple on the Aventine and officially honored as the patroness of a host of trade guilds.[107] Her great festival was held on the 19th of March, and her temple became the social, business and religious center of all the artisans of Rome. Vesta was held in honor by the millers and bakers who celebrated her festival on June 9th. The musicians who played at the public worship held their festival on the 13th of June.[108] Mercury was the deity who presided over actual business transactions and commercial enterprises.[109] "Business under the aegis of religion" as Rostovtzeff terms it, was indeed the spirit of the age.[110] These tutelary deities were needed as protectors, not only against human ignorance and lack of foresight in business transactions, but also against superhuman forces that threatened.

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[107] See Ovid's interesting description of her functions, in Fasti, III.814-33; cf. Carter, The Religion of Numa, p. 108

[108] Friedländer, RLM, I.151.

[109] Preller, op. cit., I.229-33. The Christians' fear of the demonic influences involved in business contacts is further evidence of their inseparable connection with pagan deities.

[110] Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, p. 98; cf. the frescoes at a shop entrance (Plate XV) showing Mercury and Venus Pompeiana as the divine protectors of the merchant and his business.

Every little detail of one's actions must be watched with the greatest care. Such a minor act as the paring of one's fingernails might bring heavy financial loss if performed under the wrong circumstances.[111] Shopkeepers, like other Romans of the time, were very superstitious with regard to harmful astral influences. The heavenly bodies were scanned eagerly for any trace that would be valuable in averting impending danger or insuring business success.[112]

No fixed prices were established in Roman shops, but each purchaser made the best bargain he could. Such a system involved greater danger of loss for both parties concerned. There was more room for the operation of chance, more uncertainty as to outcome, and greater need for one to be on his guard against deception. Alliance with some divine power was necessary to insure safety and a "square deal" in the face of these menacing obstacles.[113]

The uncertainties and dangers involved in domestic business were multiplied many fold in the risks of foreign trade. In spite of many campaigns to suppress robbers by land and pirates by sea both these dangers remained as factors to be considered by the trader. More formidable were the violent storms at sea that took a heavy toll of life and property and made navigation impossible for several months each year. Paul's disastrous shipwreck is a familiar example of the heavy price often paid for venturing out into the deep after the close of the normal season for navigation. Even during the regular season much time was often lost because of adverse or insufficient winds. Because of these hazards and other financial difficulties involved there was not enough interest in commerce to meet the imperial needs. Attempts were made by both Claudius and Nero to stimulate shipbuilding and overseas commerce, through offers of special inducements to those engaging in these activities.[114] Such official encouragement was necessary to overcome the ordinary Roman's hesitation in the face of these numerous dangers.

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[111] Pliny, NH, XXVIII.5; cf. Petronius, Satiricon, paragraphs 104, 105.

[112] Davis, The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p. 120. The close association of evil powers with the astral bodies has been considered, supra, pp. 255-61.

[113] Davis, Infl. Wealth, p. 121, for a discussion of this practice.

In another connection we have noted the early Roman fear of the natural forces of winds, thunder, lightning and storms as superhuman forces of evil.[115] This attitude continued to exert its influence down into and beyond our period.[116] With the dominant supernaturalistic world-view of the time, nothing was more natural than to attribute such phenomena to demonic powers. The writers of the Synoptic Gospels were using concepts thoroughly understood and accepted by their Gentile readers when they pictured Jesus as rebuking the demons of wind and wave in the storm on the Sea of Galilee.[117] Philostratus tells of a female demon at Balara that destroyed sailers who came into its waters.[118] Pliny speaks of charms that were used to insure safety on a journey as well as to cure diseases.[119] In both cases the powers to be protected against were demonic.

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[114] Suetonius, Claudius, pp. 19, 20; cf. Cicero, De Off., III.50; Tacitus, Annals, XIII.51; see Frank, Economic History of Rome, pp. 245 f. and notes for further details.

[115] Supra pp. 271-75.

[116] Cicero, De Deorum Natura III.20,51; Domaszewski, Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion, pp. 22-24.

[117] Mark 4:39-41; Matt. 8:26 f.; Luke 8:24 f.; cf. Origen, Cels., I.31 for demons as the cause of storms at sea.

[118] Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Book III., Ch. 56.

The seriousness of these forces that menaced the trader and traveller is shown by the frequent references to guardian deities and prayers for protection. Among the powers thus invoked were Neptune, Apollo,[120] Hercules,[121] Minerva,[122] Zeus,[123] the Dioscuri,[124] and Serapis.[125] Entreaties for protection at sea and expressions of gratitude for deliverance from storm and shipwreck are poured out to these guardian deities who function so vitally in safeguarding mortals against the wrath of maleficent demons of wind, wave and tempest. And, in spite of all our scientific thinking today, the reality of such a demonic interpretation of these dread forces can well be appreciated by any one who has experienced a real storm at sea.

III. Functions of Evil Powers in Social Relationships

Consideration will here be given to various phases of family relationships, and to the place of the individual in the social order, including dangers involved in daily experiences, in his social status and in his general relations with his fellows.

1. Evil Forces in Family Relationships

a. Protection for the house and its contents.- Here in the intimacies of the primary-group contacts of the family were centered many of the most potent influences for good or ill for the average individual. And here the ancient practices for protection persisted for the longest period of time, with comparatively little change from outside influences.[126] From the time of the establishment of the new family there were important precautions necessary to insure its welfare. Even the house itself needed protection against the spirits that inhabited the place. Excavations in recent years show that statues and images were placed under the foundations of Roman buildings.[127] Apparently at an early period there were real sacrifices offered rather than images. These may have been either animal or human or both. When the foundations of the great temple on the Tarpeian rock were unearthed some years ago, a human head in a perfect state of preservation was discovered.[128] In all probability it was placed there to insure the stability of the structure. The tradition that tells of the death of Remus in connection with the founding of the city of Rome is further evidence that this practice of human sacrifice to the disturbed spirits of the place was observed in early Roman life. In later times, as public sentiment revolted against the slaying of human victims, statues and images were substituted. The continuance of the custom of burying sacrificial "victims" shows the urgent need of safeguarding house and inhabitants against dreaded forces of evil that must be placated.

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[119] Pliny, NH, XXVIII.4; p. 282 f.
[120] Virgil, Aeneid, III.118-20.
[121] Carter, Rel. Numa, pp. 35 ff.
[122] Ovid, Tristia, Book I, Elegy X.
[123] Apollonius Rhodius, II.986.
[124] Acts 28:11; CIG, 1824-27; CIL, III.582-84; cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, p. 536, note 30; Grenfell and Hunt, Fayum Towns and Their Papyri (London, 1900), p. 293.
[125] Milligan, Selections from the Greek Papyri (Cambridge, 1910), p. 90 f. (B.G.U., 423). Apuleius mentions "spirits and ghosts of the night" that menaced travellers by land, Metamorphoses, trans. by Adlington, rev. by Gaselee (London, 1915), VI.30,293.

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[126] Fowler, *RERP*, pp. 68 f.

[127] Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (2d ed.; New York, 1906), p. 55 f., and sources cited in notes, also pp. 264 f.

[128] Granger, *WR*, p. 243. This writer asks the suggestive question in this connection, "Were the Lares the spirits of the men killed, when the city was built?" *See* Burriss, *TMS*, p. 107 and notes for further evidence of human sacrifice in Rome as late as 97 B.C. Plutarch makes it clear that human sacrifice was demanded by evil demons rather than by the gods. He says such victims were offered "in order to appease some alien and foreign demons." *Roman Questions*, LXXXIII; cf. *Cessation of Oracles*, XIV; Case, *ESECT*, p. 182 and n. 59.

After the house was erected and occupied there were three parts of it which were particularly in need of protection against harmful influences: the door, the hearth and the niche where the food was stored.[129] So strategic was the door as the entrance to the dwelling that according to Augustine, there were three spirits associated with it: Forculus, of the door itself; Limentinus, of the threshold; and Cardea, of the hinges of the door.[130] Apparently in the earliest times Janus was the spirit of the house door, before he came to be associated with the sacred door down in the Forum. The door was so dangerous because it was the natural point of contact with the spirit-world. It must be guarded with the greatest care against the entrance of evil spirits or the ghosts of the dead. There was a Roman custom which compelled a man who had returned from a foreign country, after being thought dead, to enter the house by the roof instead of the door. As Fowler interprets this practice, it was to keep out any hostile demonic powers, "for the door must be kept barred against ghosts and this man may be after all a ghost, or at least he may have evil spirits or miasma about him."[131] Such harmful spirits might more easily be excluded if the man entered by an unfamiliar aperture. It was also at the door that important rites of aversion were performed when a bride first came to her new home, and when a child was born into the family. The head of the family, who was chiefly responsible for the performance of the most important religious rites of the household,[132] had as one of his special functions the observance of the rites of the doorway.[133] They were kept under his care that they might be observed with the greatest precision and efficacy.

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[129] For a fuller discussion of the significance of these in Roman family religion, see Fowler, RERP, pp. 72 ff; RE, pp. 286 ff., 334 f.; Carter, The Religion of Numa, pp. 13 ff., "Family (Roman)," ERE, V.746-49.

[130] Fowler, RERP, p. 76. Augustine's authority was Varro, who was evidently depending on the books of the pontifices. Cf. Tertullian, On Idolatry, and On the Soldier's Chaplet, ANCL, XI. 164 f., 353.

[131] Fowler, RERP, pp. 75 f.; for the custom see Plutarch, Roman Questions, trans. by H.J. Rose (Oxford, 1924), No. 5. For similar practices to guard the door against demons see Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, pp. 45-57.

The hearth where the family fire burned was the natural center of the worship of the Roman household. This was the seat of Vesta, the spirit of the fire that cooked their food, and the guardian spirit of the family circle, "the spiritual embodiment of the physical welfare of the family."[134] In front of the hearth was the table where the family took their meals. Here was placed the salt-cellar (salinum) and the sacred salt-cake which for centuries continued to be baked in primitive fashion by the daughters of the family, as it was by the Vestal virgins for the state. After the chief course of the mid-day meal, while strict silence was maintained, an offering of a part of the sacred cake was burned on the fire.[135] The daily observance of this ceremony shows its necessity for insuring the family welfare. Specific mention of evil forces to be warded off by these rites is not made in our sources, but there can be no doubt that a major purpose of worship in Roman religion was that of protection against unseen spirits of evil. This unquestionably was involved in these intimate family observances even though specific demons to be averted are not definitely mentioned. The apotropaic and exorcistic significance of salt in Etruscan-Roman rites as well as among other peoples, is another indication of the protective value of these practices.[136]

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[132] Cato, *De Agricultura*, Ch. 143, says, "Remember that the master practices religion for the entire household."

[133] Fowler, *RF*, pp. 334 f.

[134] Fowler, *HERP*, p. 73.

[135] *Ibid*. It is interesting to note that at a later period when fire became a deadly menace to the community a magical procedure was deemed necessary as a safeguard when a great conflagration was mentioned. Pliny says, "If, when eating, we happen to make mention of a fire that has happened, we avert the inauspicious omen by pouring water beneath the table," *NH*, XXVIII.5; trans. by Bostock and Riley, Bohn Library, 6 vols. (London, 1857), V, 284.

The store-chamber (penus) for the family food-supply was a third important part of the house. Protection of these supplies was assured by friendly spirits, the Di Penates, who were worshipped with appropriate rites. Against what must the food be guarded? Undoubtedly against the attacks of mold, of insects, mice and other pests, as well as invisible spirit powers that would steal it from the family.[137] Hence it was necessary for the family to enlist the support of the beneficent spirits in their warfare against the forces of destruction to insure the preservation of their food supply.

b. Protection of married relationships.- The entrance into the marriage relationship was one of the great crisis experiences of life which demanded especial protection. It must take place only under the most favorable auspices and at proper times. Certain months were taboo for weddings, because inauspicious, and at the proper times a seer was present to guarantee favorable omens.[138] The thorn torches used in the wedding procession were considered efficacious in averting demonic attacks.[139] When the procession arrived at the house of the groom (their future home) a ceremony of great importance was carried out. The bride smeared the doorposts with wolf's fat, hog's lard and olive oil, and wound fillets of wool around them. Only when this solemn rite was duly performed was she carried over the threshold and with appropriate ceremonies received by her husband into her official position as materfamilias.[140] The apotropaic purpose of the doorpost ritual is clear. The doorway was a place of great potential danger. The bride's entrance through it into her new status and responsibilities was also fraught with perils. Every precaution must be taken to protect her against the menacing demons that hovered about. The use of these powerful prophylactics was considered of great efficacy against invading hosts of evil. "The real reason was, no doubt, that it (the ritual) was a charm against evil spirits."[141]

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[136] Cf. Trumbull, The Covenant of Salt (New York, 1899), esp. Ch. X for ample illustrations and sources; esp. p. 105 and n. 4 on Roman practices; Burriss, TMS, pp. 76, 156 and sources cited.

[137] Cf. the fear of the women of Palestine, even today, that the jinn will make heavy inroads upon their kitchen supplies unless driven away by appropriate formulae. See supra, pp. 179 f.

[138] Tucker, Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul (New York, 1910), pp. 297 ff. There are indications that the auspices were not formally taken from the time of Cicero, but the

The new sexual relations of marriage also involved dangers from spirit powers. As was true of other ancient peoples, the Romans believed in the possibility of sexual intercourse between spirits and human beings.[142] Demons might also in other ways hinder the successful consummation of the marriage if they gained admission to the house. These aspects of the situation provided further reasons for the powerful rites of aversion at the doorway.

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continued dependence on the divine powers for protection is still prominent. Cf. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1907), p. 405.

[139] Pliny, *NH*, XVI; Bohn Library trans., III.371 f.

[140] Pliny, *NH*, XXVIII.135; Varro, *RR*, II.10; Granger, *RW*, p. 144; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, pp. 74, 137-40.

[141] Fowler, *RERP*, p. 83, and n. 48, p. 90. For apotropaic properties of various objects as pine, laurel, wool, salt, *et al*, *see* Burriss, *TMS*, Index on "Februum."

[142] Plutarch, *Life of Numa*, p. 4; cf. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire* (2d ed.; London, 1909), p. 100; *Philostratus*, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, trans. by Conybeare, 2 vols. (London, 1912), IV.25; cf. *supra*, pp. 106 f.

The wife was particularly in need of protection in all of her sexual functions. She looked to Juno as the "guardian of wedlock bonds" who would safeguard her through her marital crises, guarantee her fertility, and protect her during pregnancy.[143] Roman women also prayed with proper rites to Mater Matuta,[144] Fortuna Virilis[145] and Bona Dea[146] when stricken by barrenness and desiring children. Various rites to insure human fertility were practiced. Probably the Lupercalia of February 15th is the best known of these. During this ceremony the two youths from the collegia of the Luperci, clad in skins of newly slaughtered goats, their foreheads smeared with blood, carried strips of the goat-skins with which they struck all women who offered themselves to their blows. These strips of skin, called februa, were thought to have a magical potency to drive away the hostile spirits of barrenness and induce fertility in the women thus struck.[147] At the festival of the Nones of the Goat, on July 7th, was another fertility rite. Here the objects used were wild fig switches, regarded as having great purgative power, hence efficacious in expelling any undesirable influences that would prevent fertility.[148]

When the coming of offspring was assured, there was still need for special protection and care for the prospective mother. The perils attending childbirth must be overcome. Goddesses whose aid was especially sought by women undergoing this severe trial were Diana,[149] Carmenta,[150] Ilithyia[151] and Isis.[152] Three beneficent spirits, Pilummus, Deverra, and Intercidona, were particularly potent in warding off the attacks of the dreaded Silvanus, the mortal enemy of mother and child in parturition.[153]

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[143] Virgil, Aeneid, IV.59; cf. Plutarch, Morals: Advice to Bride and Groom, p. 27.

[144] Plutarch, Roman Questions, p. 16; Tertullian, De Monogam., p. 17.

[145] Ovid, Fasti, IV.149 ff.; Fowler, RF, p. 68.

[146] Fowler, RF, p. 256; cf. Juvenal, II.86; see Augustine, De Civ. Dei, VI.9; NPNF, First Series, II, pp. 117 ff., for the functions of various Roman deities in marriage and family life.

[147] Ovid, Fasti, II.31 f., 424-54; V.101; Fowler, RF, p. 311 and sources; Burriss, TMS, pp. 160-63.

[148] Burriss, TMS, pp. 163 ff. The parallel of the lashing by wild fig switches at the Thargelia, an apotropaic rite in Athens, is also cited.

Effective means were also necessary in order to insure the permanent loyalty and affection of husband and wife for each other. Both before and after marriage estrangement might occur through the maleficent activities of witch, vampire, lamia, hobgoblin or other hostile spirit forces.[154] To guard against such calamities many love charms and philtres were in common use.[155] They were employed to protect either party from rival lovers of the opposite sex (both human and demonic), to bring closer attachment to the loved one, or to bring some form of evil upon a rejected lover.[156] The use of efficacious objects was often accompanied by the utterance of powerful formulae containing mighty names dreaded by the demons.[157] When family differences led to divorce it was often attributed to demonic power. It might even be brought about by a spell uttered in the name of a demon.[158]

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[149] Ovid, *Fasti*, II.269; Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, p. 3; Fowler, *RF*, p. 200 and n. 4.

[150] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, IV.11; *NPNF*, First Series, II, 70b; Fowler, *RF*, p. 292 and notes.

[151] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX.280 ff.

[152] Ovid, *Am.*, II.13.7.

[153] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, VI.9; Servius, *Ad Aen.*, IX.4; X.76; *Nonnos*, p. 528; Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilization* (New Haven, 1925), p. 436 and n. 130.

[154] Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, IV.25; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Hetaerae*, Nos. 1 and 4; trans., by Fowler and Fowler (Oxford, 1905), pp. 53, 59; Rohde, *Psyche*, Eng. trans. (London, 1925), pp. 297-99 and notes 90-106, appendices VI and VII pp. 590-95 with sources; Tatian, *ad Graecos*, p. 17; Angus, *Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman* World (New York, 1929), p. 134 and n. 4.

[155] Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV.515 f.; Pliny, *NH*, XIII.52; Josephus, Jewish Wars, I.XXX, p. 1; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 214 for valuable sources. For its persistence into later times *see* Wessely, *Denkschr. d. K. K. Akad.*, XLII (1893-94), Papyrus No. CXXI, lines 467-85, 685 ff., pp. 36, 43 ff.; No. CXXII, pp. 55 ff.; Leemans, *Pap. Gr. Mus. Ant. Pub. Lugd. Bat.*, Vol. II (Leyden, 1885), Papyrus W, Pagina 8a, lines 8-15, p. 107 of the vol.; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 257 f. and notes.

[156] *See* especially the significance of the *defixio* tablets, in Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (Göttingen, 1909), pp. 164, 200-205, and sources cited.

c. Protection of children.- All possible precautions were taken to thwart potential perils in connection with the birth of a child. Pliny tells us that the tongue of a chameleon was often tied to the body to guard against the danger involved.[159] According to Hippolytus an astrologer was present at the birth of a child to fix its horoscope.[160] How early this practice was adopted cannot be stated with certainty, but, in the face of the powerful control of astrological thinking in the first century, it must have been in vogue by that time. A taper was kept burning in the room of the new-born babe as "a precaution against malign influences of all kinds.[161]

After the child was born and had been officially recognized by the father there followed the most potent protective ritual.

> After the birth of the child, three protecting deities are summoned lest the god Silvanus enter during the night and harass mother and child; and to give tokens of those guardian divinities three men by night surround the threshold of the house and first strike it with an ax and a pestle; then they sweep it off with a broom, that, by giving these signs of worship, the god Silvanus may be kept from entering....Now from these three objects are named three divinities: Intercidna from the intercisio of the ax; Pilumnus from the pilum; Deverra from the sweeping (verrere) of the broom; and by the

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[157] Wessely, op. cit., No. CXXI, lines 396 f., p. 33.

[158] Papyrus of Bibliotheque Nationale, lines 267 ff., quoted by Legge, "The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri," PSBA, XXIII (1901), pp. 46 f. and n. It is after the time of Hadrian, p. 42, n.; cf. Pap. Grenfell, II.76,3 f., of the 4th century A.D.

[159] Pliny, NH, XXVIII.29; Bohn Library, V, 316.

[160] Hippolytus, Refutation of all Heresies, Bk. IV, Ch. IV, ANCL, VI.69.

[161] Granger WR, p. 207 f.; and n. 1, p. 208 for sources. Cf. the use of pitch by the Greeks to drive away evil spirits at the birth of a child. See Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 40, with sources.

protection of these divinities new-born babies are preserved against the violence of Silvanus.[162]

In early times representing the vague, undefined, dangerous spirits of the wild, unreclaimed woodland, Silvanus has come to be a definite demonic spirit that haunts and destroys the unprotected mother and child at night. This vigorous ceremony is clearly an apotropaic ritual for driving him away. The objects used were recognized as having great magical potency in warding off evil influences. The iron of the ax and of the tip of the pestle was a metal often used for averting evils of many kinds. The broom also was frequently employed in rites of riddance of harmful spirit forces. The whole procedure thus provided a series of potent charms against this deadly demon that menaced mother and child.

Infants were thought to be particularly subject to molestation by evil spirits up to the dies lustricus, the day for the performance of important purificatory rites.[163] For boys this was the ninth, for girls the eighth day after birth. On this day the child was "purified" and adopted into the family and its sacra, and into the gens to which the family belonged. It also received its name, if rightly chosen a powerful weapon against the forces of darkness. It was given a bulla, a case containing an amulet of great efficacy against the evil eye and other forms of sorcery. This was worn around the neck throughout childhood as a constant protection.[164] When the boy was old enough to assume the toga

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[162] Augustine, De. Civ. Dei, VI.9; quoted in Burriss, TMS, pp. 57 f.; cf. Tertullian, De Anima, pp. 39, 41; H. Blümner, Die römischen Privataltertümer, in I. Müller's Handbuch d. klass. altertumswissenschaft, IV.2.2 (München, Germany; 1911), pp. 299-312.

[163] Augustine, De Civ. Dei, VI.9; Tertullian, On Idolatry, XVI; Fowler, RERP, pp. 28, 84; also in ERE, III.545a.

[164] Juvenal, Satires, XIII.331; Macrobius, Sat., I.XVI.36; Jayne, HGAC, p. 498; Rose, PCI, p. 134.

virilis, the symbol of manhood, his amulet was hung up on the *Lares*.[165] Up to the age of puberty the Roman child was also protected against malevolent spirits by the *toga praetexta*, a purple-bordered garment which with the *bulla* formed "the peculiar defensive armour of childhood."[166]

Children were also liable to be menaced by bloodsucking vampires in the form of owls. Ovid gives the rites of riddance used by the witch Crane to free the infant Procas from their clutches,

> Immediately she touches the doorposts three times in succession with a spray of arbutus; three times she marks the threshold with arbutus spray. She sprinkles the entrance with water (and the water contained a drug). She holds the bloody entrails of a pig, two months old, and thus speaks: 'Birds of the night, spare the entrails of the boy. For a small boy a small victim falls. Take heart for heart, I pray, entrails for entrails. This life we give you in place of a better one.'[167]

Then the witch killed the sow, placed its vital organs in the open air and forbade all who were attending the rite to look at them. Then a whitehorn branch was placed in a window of the house and the child regained his normal color and strength.

Children were thought to be especially subject to attacks of the evil eye, and various means of averting it were in common practice.[168] "The goddess of the cradle (Cunina) was believed, in popular superstition at least, to have the power of averting the evil eye."[169] By these various means the child was amply protected from birth to maturity against all forms of demonic attacks.

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[165] Burriss, *TMS*, p. 58; Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid* (London, 1931), III, 139.

[166] Fowler, *RERP*, pp. 61, 84. For the special deities presiding over these various vital functions of birth and childhood, *see* Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 61-64.

[167] Ovid, *Fasti*, VI.155-62; quoted in Burriss, *TMS*, p. 59; cf. Fowler, *RF*, p. 132; J.A. Hild, "Lamia," Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire Des Antiquitis Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1904), III.908 f.; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 78 and n. 62.

[168] *See* Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism* (London, 1906), pp.33 ff.

[169] Burriss, *TMS*, p. 60 and sources.

d. *Ghosts of ancestors*.- Of all the forces potent for harm in connection with Roman family life none were more significant than the spirits of the deceased ancestors. There was a social solidarity of Roman life that bound together the generations in a great unity. Thus the shades of the ancestors were a vital part of the family life, in fact the most potent element in it.[170] Their relations with the living members of the family were very intimate. Appearances of the spirits of dead ancestors or other relatives in dreams and apparitions were common occurrences accepted as genuine by practically all classes of Roman society.[171]

The observance of the *Parentalia* and other rites for the dead were among the most binding of religious obligations.[172] In these ceremonies, as in all relationships with the departed spirits, the dominant impelling motive was fear. These restless, invisible shades hovered about and wreaked vengeance upon the living for any failures to provide for all needs and honors due them.[173] Three times a year, on August 24th, October 5th and November 8th, the shades of the dead rose through a circular pit on the Palatine called the *mundus* where they were fed with fruits and cakes.[174]

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[170] Cicero, *De Har. Resp*, p. 18; Granger, *WR*, pp. 64-66 and sources.

[171] Virgil, *Aeneid*, III.147-71; V.721-45; VI.695 ff.; Ovid, *Fasti*, II.549 ff.; Propertius, IV.VII; Lucian, *Philopseudes*, Ch. XXVII; Plutarch, *Life of Dion*, Ch. II; Pliny the Younger, *Letter to Licinius Sura*, VII.27; Granger, *WR*, pp. 28-52.

[172] Ovid, *Fasti*, V.420-45, describes this ritual; cf. Fowler, *RF*, p. 308.

[173] Ovid, *Fasti*, II.549-54; Granger, *WR*, p. 68 f.; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.620; cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, XXXIV., where the spirit of Nero's mother returns to hound him for his evil deeds.

Apotropaic rites were practiced to avert the shades of the deceased and appease their anger. Ovid records the smearing of pitch on the head of a small fish, the maena which was sewed up, roasted on the fire and used to protect from the harmful activities of these ghosts.[175] This was in connection with the Feralia ceremonies. The most picturesque riddance rite for ghosts, however, was performed at the Lemuria festival.

> The following is Ovid's description of the way in which the ghosts were laid at the Lemuria by the father of the family. At midnight he rises, and with bare feet and washed hands, making a peculiar sign with his fingers and thumbs to keep off the ghosts, he walks through the house. He has black beans in his mouth, and these he spits out as he walks, looking the other way, and saying, 'With these I redeem me and mine.' Nine times he says this without looking round; then come the ghosts behind him, and gather up the beans unseen. He preceeds to wash again and to make a noise with brass vessels; and after nine times repeating the formula 'manes exite paterni,' he at last looks round, and the ceremony is over.[176]

This reveals clearly the fear of departed spirits which prevailed and the necessity for regular rites of aversion performed by the head of the household to safeguard its members. There is an interesting parallel in the Greek Anthesteria festival. As a final rite the ghosts of the dead were expelled by the formula, "Out of the doors! ye Keres; it is no longer Anthesteria."[177] Rohde[178] calls attention to the fast that the daimones of Hesiod represent the pre-Homeric cult of the dead, showing early Greek connection between ghosts and demons. But the nature of the rites performed is even more conclusive of the sinister character of these powers. In connection with the presentation of an imposing array of facts on Greek rites of aversion, Miss Harrison aptly remarks, "The keynote of primitive ritual, it will become increasingly clear, is exorcism."[179] Such a statement may well be applied to Roman family rites for many centuries. The fundamental purpose was to protect the members of the household against unseen spirit forces that menaced them at every turn, in every possible relationship, and thus insure a safe, successful and happy life.

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[174] Plutarch, Rom., p. 11; Macrobius, Sat., I.XVI.18; Granger, WR, n. 3, pp. 60 ff.; Festus, 154; Harrison, Proleg.47 n.3.

[175] Fasti, II.570-82. Cf. the προστρόπαιος δαίμων of the Greeks, the spirit of an injured dead man that might return and wreak vengeance on those who had harmed him; Rohde, Psyche, n. 148, pp. 210 f., with sources.

[176] Fowler, RF, p. 109 and nn; Sources: Ovid, Fasti, IV.658, V.432; Plutarch, RQ, 111; Servius, Aen. IV.518; Horace, Sat. I.8.24.

[177] Quoted in Harrison, Proleg., p. 35; During the same festival the chewing of buckthorn and the anointing of the doors with pitch were likewise regarded as powerful apotropaic measures. See all of Ch. I in Harrison for an extremely valuable presentation of many rites of aversion.

[178] Rohde, op. cit., p. 72 f.

2. Demonic Dangers in the Individual's Relationship to Society

a. Fear of demons as a prevailing social attitude.- In earlier Roman times the major social contacts came in the family and the experiences of rural life already considered. But in the more complex life of the imperial period other elements played an importamt part in the individual's relations and attitudes. He had come to have a share, however little, in the life of a mighty empire whose fortunes had a far-reaching effect upon his daily welfare. The latter portion of Nero's reign and the years of his immediate successors were a period of such political, social and moral chaos as to increase profoundly that ominous sense of foreboding and fear so widely prevalent among the masses of the city's population. Dill's description of the "Terror" presents vividly its salient features, and reveals realistically the sense of horror it inspired.

> It was an age darkened by external disasters, save on the eastern frontier, by seditions and civil war, and the bloody death of four princes. The forces of nature seemed to unite with the rage of men to deepen the universal tragedy. Italy

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[179] Prolegomena, p. 23

> was overwhelmed with calamities which had been unknown for many ages; Campania's fairest cities were swallowed up; Rome itself had been wasted by fire; the ancient Capitol was given to the flames by the hands of citizens. Polluted altars, adultery in high places, the islands of the sea crowded with exiles, rank and wealth and virtue made the mark for a cruel jealousy, all this forms an awful picture. But even more repulsive is the spectacle of treachery rewarded with the highest place, slaves and clients betraying their master for gain, and men without an enemy ruined by their friends.[180]

To the average man or woman, struggling desperately to eke out a meager existence with a measure of the joy of life, such an upheaval of the social order seemed the triumph of the hordes of evil turned loose upon humanity. Life and all its satisfactions were in jeopardy at every moment. And, with the dominant note of supernaturalism that permeated the social order,[181] the interpretation of this chaos as of demonic origin was inevitable. Not that such superstitious fears had their origin in this period. We have seen ample evidence of their existence for many centuries before the establishment of the empire. But there can be no reasonable doubt that such a riot of cruelty, debauchery and bloodshed reatly intensified existing fears of these evil powers.

From the first century B.C. on, many of the outstanding Roman writers launched their scathing attacks against the all-pervasive superstition that enslaved the people, "the most cruel of tyrants, eternal terror and fear by day and by night."[182] The poet-philosopher Lucretius regarded this ever-present dread of superhuman powers as one of the greatest curses suffered by the people of his time. They lived under the spell of a fear-complex that terrorized and paralyzed their daily existence.

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[180] Dill, RSNA, p. 46; cf. all of Ch. I.

[181] For a thorough consideration of this attitude in its various aspects, see Case, ESECT, with a wealth of source materials.

[182] Cicero, Tusculans, I.21.48; quoted in Glover, Conflict of Religions, p. 17 and n. 5. Cf. Theophrastus' description of the superstitious man in Greece in his time (4-3 c. B.C.): Character No. 28; trans. by Jebb, ed. by Sandys (London, 1909); cf.

> O hapless race of men, when that they charged the gods with such acts and coupled with them bitter wrath! what groanings did they then beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for our children's children! No act is it of piety to be often seen with veiled head to turn to a stone and approach every altar and fall prostrate on the ground and spread out the palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts and link vow on to vow, but rather to be able to look on things with a mind at peace.[183]

Cicero likewise realized the misery caused by perverted conceptions of divine beings which made them in reality evil demons. He pleaded eloquently for the observance of true religion, but strove to root out the superstitious fears that made life a nightmare for multitudes of people.[184] The degree to which this plague had wrought its deadly destruction in daily life is vividly set forth in his treatise *On Divination*.

> (Superstition) follows you up, is hard upon you, pursues you wherever you turn. If you hear a prophet, or an omen; if you sacrifice; if you catch sight of a bird; if you see a Chaldean or a *haruspex*; if it lightens, if it thunders, if anything is struck by lightning; if anything like a portent is born or occurs in any way - something or other of the kind is bound to happen, sô that you can never be at ease and have a quiet mind. The refuge from all our toils and anxieties would seem to be sleep. Yet from sleep itself the most of our cares and terrors come.[185]

But, with all the force of these popular fears in the time of Cicero and Lucretius, they were tremendously increased in the century which followed.[186] This situation is clearly reflected in the writings of Seneca, Lucan, Tacitus, Suetonius and Pliny,

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Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 516. For a study of other literary and philosophical attacks upon these popular fears, *see* Thorndike, *HMES*, I, 268-86, and sources cited.

[183] Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, Bk. V, lines 1190-98, Munro's trans. (London, 1920), p. 145.

[184] Cicero, *On Divination*, Bk. II, Ch. 72.

[185] *Ibid*., II.72,149 f.; cf. *de Legg*., II.13,32; quoted in Glover, *GR*, p. 17.

[186] Cf. Dill, "...the force of Roman superstition had endlessly multiplied since the days of Lucretius," *RSNA*, p. 445; cf. Seneca, *Treatise on Sup*., preserved (fragment) in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*., VI.10; Lucan, Pharsalia, V.394-402.

as well as in the works of lesser authors. But it is in Plutarch that superstition's deadly grip on the popular mind is most vividly portrayed. Fear of all sorts of evil spirits had become an obsession that crushed out all initiative and dogged people's footsteps with a perpetual curse.

> Superstition...is the only thing that makes no truce with sleep, nor grants to the soul then, at least, to repose, and gain a little courage by driving off its burdensome and painful notions about the Deity, but as it were in the realms of the damned, it raises up in the sleep of the superstitious, terrific phantoms, monsters, apparitions, and tortures of all kinds; scaring the miserable soul, it chases it out of the refuge of sleep with spectres; while it is scourged and tormented by its own self, as though by the hand of another; and receives troubles both dreadful and of strange sort; and then, when they wake up, they do not come to their senses, nor laugh at their visionary fears, nor feel glad that nothing of what had so disturbed them was a reality; but after having escaped the visionary illusion that had no harm in it, they cheat themselves over again, waste their money, and vex themselves, by rushing to fortune-tellers and such like impostors. ..for the superstitious there is no world in common with the rest; for neither when awake does he enjoy the rational world, nor when asleep does he escape from the terrifying one; but his reason is always a-dreaming, he fears even when awake - escape is impossible, so is change of place...he that dreads the government of the gods as a gloomy and implacable tyranny - whither shall he migrate, whither shall he flee, what land shall he find free from gods, what sea? into what part of the earth canst thou creep and hide thyself, poor wretch! and be sure that thou hast escaped from God? Even slaves without hope of manumission are allowed by law to demand to be sold, and to change their master for a milder one; but Superstition allows not a change of gods, nor is it possible to find a god whom that man shall not fear who is afraid of those of his own country and own family - he that shudders at the Preservers and the Benevolent; he that trembles at and dreads the beings from whom we ask in prayer riches, plenty, peace concord, the prospering of our works and best actions....Even slaves have an altar of refuge; even robbers hold many temples to be inviolable; and people fleeing from enemies take courage if they can embrace some idol or shrine - but these are the very things that the superstitious man most shudders at, is frightened with, and fears - the very things in which such as dread dangers place their trust!...To the superstitious man, every infirmity of body, every loss of money, or loss of children, every unpleasantness or failure in political matters, are called "plagues from God," and "assaults of the demons;" consequently, he ventures not-to help himself under what has happened, nor to remedy it, nor to resist it, lest he should appear to fight against God, and to resist when he is chastised; but, if sick, the physician is pushed away; if in sorrow, the philosophers who comes to advise and comfort

> him has the door slammed in his face. 'Let me alone (says he), my good fellow, to suffer my punishment - impious, accursed as I am, hateful to gods and demons!'....The appointed limit of Life for all mankind is Death; but to superstition not even Death is the limit - she leaps over the boundaries of Life into the other side, making Fear longerlived than Life, and tacking on to Death the imagination of never-ending woes. And when she comes to the end of her troubles she fancies that she is entering upon others that have no end. Deep below are opened the gates of Hell, rivers of fire, and fountains of Styx are at once disclosed; a fantastic darkness envelopes all, where certain spectral forms flit about, offering frightful sights to the eyes, piteous sounds to the ears; also judges seated, and executioners at hand; yawning gulfs and deep places, crammed with all manner of evil things. Thus unhappy Superstition has obtained through death an end of suffering, but has, through its folly, created an expectation of future misery for itself.[187]

Thus, for the person whose outlook was dominated by this constant fear of evil spirits, neither life nor death offered any escape from invisible terrors. With such fears of unseen evil powers as the very atmosphere of the social order, the individual felt himself at the mercy of mighty forces beyond his control, forces that might bring disaster at any moment. As our sources have shown, these dangers lurked in every possible type of contact and experience. The common man was submerged by the waves of social inequality, economic pressure and political chaos, and the natural interpretation of this status of inferiority was in terms of supernaturalistic foes.[188] These fears were not abstract speculations; but the concrete expression, in the thought-world of the time, of experiences and conditions that were grim, inescapable realities.

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[187] Plutarch, On Superstition, King's trans. (London, 1882), pp. 260-63, 265 f.

[188] Cf. pp. 353-66 of the above and sources there cited for a description of these social conditions that inevitably developed an "inferiority complex" and a sense of the futility of life for so many people. See also H. Blümner, Die römische Privat-Altertümer, especially pp. 7-160, 299-371.

IV. Evil Forces in Relation to Physical Well-being

1. Demons and Disease

No need of man was more urgent, more insistent, or more intimately interwoven with every aspect of a happy existence than the need for physical health. It touched the individual intimately at every point, and was the indispensable prerequisite to the good life in every other area of experience. Because of its primary importance and its pervasiveness it was a realm in which the invisible forces that environed Roman life were operative with unusual potency. One of the most dreaded diseases, which took a heavy toll of energy and of life was malaria. It was one of the chief causes of death in the early empire.[189] So prevalent were various forms of fever that altars were often erected to the scourge.[190] Many suffered from weak eyes and gout. On the walls of the temple at Nemi, sixteen miles from Rome, have been discovered numerous representations of eyes, hands and feet, hung up in grateful acknowledgment of cures of these injured members.[191] Epilepsy was also quite common, especially under the high nervous tension of city life in the imperial period.[192] Blindness, madness and other serious ailments were also frequent.

A number of causes were assigned for diseases in the ancient Graeco-Roman world. The philosophers were often the advocates of natural theories of disease. For Plato, for example, sickness was brought about by some derangement or disharmony of the physical organism. Mental disorders were traced to similar causes. Hence the best way to insure both physical and mental health was through a thorough regimen of education for the whole man, including gymnastics, music and philosophy.[193] Plato had little confidence in the therapeutic methods employed in his time, preferring rather to depend upon the healing powers of nature for recovery.[194]

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[189] J.S. Elliott, *Greek and Roman Medicine*, p. 66.

[190] Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," *JQR*, IX (1896), p. 95; Thraemer, "Health and Gods of Healing (Roman)," *ERE*, VI.554a.

[191] Granger, *WR*, p. 281.

[192] Conybeare, *loc. cit.*, p. 88; Tambarnino, *De antiquorum Daemonismo* (Giessen, 1909), p. 57.

The Epicureans explained bodily ills in terms of a particular kind of atom that entered and infected people with its virus. Acting much after the manner of the disease germs of modern science, these atoms polluted the atmosphere, so that men inhaled the deadly diseases with the air they breathed.[195] For the Stoics, disease must have a place in a rational universe. It was not a good in itself but was one of the risks that must of necessity be involved in a world with so many opportunities for human satisfaction and achievement.[196]

It was a decided minority of the ancients, however, who were satisfied with such naturalistic interpretations of disease or who could endure its ravages with such philosophic calm. For most of them it could be understood only in terms of a superhuman origin and dealt with through similar agencies. As early as Homer we find references to demonic instigators of diseases. In the Odyssey we read of a wasting sickness caused by a δαίμων στυγερός.[197] Hesiod tells of a time when such ills did not disturb mankind, but the Golden Age was abruptly ended when Pandora's curiosity opened the lid of the great jar where the dangerous sprites were confined and they were loosed to plague mortals.

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[193] Plato, Timaeus, p. 88.

[194] Cf. Case, ESECT, pp. 229-31 and sources.

[195] Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, VI.1090 ff.

[196] Case, op. cit., p. 231 f., with sources; see p. 238 for Philo's theory of disease as a punishment for sin, an idea familiar to us in the New Testament.

[197] Od., V.395 f.; cf. IX.411; Withington, Medical History from the Earliest Times, p. 38; Stafford, Divine Manif. (Menasha, Wis., 1919), p. 39.

> Of old the tribes of mortal men on earth
> Lived without ills, aloof from grievous toil
> And catching plagues which Keres gave to men....
> The woman with her hands took the great lid
> From off the jar and scattered them, and thus
> Devised sad cares for mortals....
> For other myriad evils wandered forth
> To man, the earth was full, and full the sea.
> Diseases, that all round by day and night
> Bring ills to mortals, hovered, self-impelled,
> Silent, for Zeus the Counsellor their voice
> Had taken away.[198]

Aeschylus likewise looks upon these demonic *Keres* as the bringers of all kinds of diseases, from which his characters pray for deliverance.[199] An Orphic Hymn to Heracles entreats the great hero to come with his mighty weapons to conquer the pestiferous Keres, the disease-bearing bacilli.[200] In Simonides of Amargos these evil forces are the source of all human woes and calamities.[201] Miss Harrison has clearly shown that in this early period of Greek life the diseases or disasters were identified with the Keres, or demons, not merely carried by them.[202]

The inseparable relationship between diseases and evil powers is characteristic of both Greek and Roman attitudes for many centuries. Attempts were made to avert the evil influences of some of the most malignant by the erection of altars and the observance of cult rites, as to Fever on the Palatine Hill, to Bad Luck on the Esquiline and to Robigo the mildew-spirit by the priest of Quirinus. These cults were still active in the time of Cicero, who suggested the substitution of the worship of the virtues: Mind, Piety, Virtue, Faith.[203] The evil eye was one of the most dreaded plagues in Roman life. Not only were children guarded against its malign influence from infancy to youth by the wearing of bulla and toga praetexta;[204] adults too were often similarly protected. A general riding in his triumph must be safeguarded by having in his car a fascinum, probably a phallic symbol, to avert the evil fate that threatened one enjoying unusual distinction.[205] So greatly was the evil eye feared by one who was unduly praised that it was customary for a speaker in eulogizing another person to add the words "praefiscini dixerim" (Fend evil I should say) as a precautionary measure.[206] Apparently the spirits were jealous of too much recognition for mortals. Greek papyri show the fear of the evil eye to have been widespread in the first century.[207]

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[198] Hesiod, *Erg.*, 90-102, *passim*; quoted in Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 169, cf. nn. 1, 3, 4.

[199] Aeschylus, *Suppl.*, p. 684; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 170.

[200] *Ibid.*, p. 167; cf. Fig. 16, p. 166.

[201] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[202] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-70. The author throughout Ch. V shows that the Keres were in turn evil sprite, disease, old age and death, harpy, wind-daimon, fate, gorgon, siren, sphinx and Erinys. This very valuable discussion should be consulted for adequate consideration of early demonic spirits in Greek thought. For the personification of disease in Hellenistic times, see Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 91, nn. 139, 140, p. 92 and n. 146 with sources.

The terrors of disturbed sleep were conceived to be of demonic origin. Hepiales was the demon of nightmare that attacked defenseless people in their dreams.[208] Hippocrates in a special treatise deals with these nocturnal fears.

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[203] Granger, WR, pp. 135, 217 f.; Cicero, De Legg., II.28; cf. Cato, De Agricultura, pp. 134, 139, 141 for hostile spirits as the cause of many maladies that attacked both humans and animals; Fowler, "Roman Religion," ERE, X.829.

[204] See supra, pp. 294 f.

[205] Fowler, RERP, p. 60 f. and notes; cf. Horace, Epodes, VIII.18; Elworthy, "Evil Eye," ERE, V.612a.

[206] Elworthy, ibid., p. 611.

[207] Milligan, Greek Papyri, p. 38.

[208] Harrison, op. cit., p. 167 and nn. 2, 3, 4.

> But terrors which happen during the night, and fevers, and delirium, and jumpings out of bed, and frightful apparitions and fleeing away - all these are held to be the plots of Hekate, and the invasions of the Heroes.[209]

According to Origen demonic forces were responsible, among other things, for famine, unfruitfulness, corruptions of the air, droughts, bad seasons, storms at sea, and pestilences.[210] Plutarch was familiar with rites performed for the purpose of expelling droughts, pestilences, and other disasters.[211]

Blindness was caused by an evil spirit, a Ker; and the expression was sometimes used, "casting a black Ker on their eyes." Madness, as mental blindness, was hardly distinguished from the physical tragedy, hence was traceable to the same source.[212] As in the case of many other diseases, the magician - one in league with the invisible forces of evil - was credited with power to inflict blindness upon others.[213]

Epilepsy was a disease regarded with unusual awe. It was known as the "sacred disease" as early as Hippocrates and Aristotle.[214] It was commonly associated with the moon in classical antiquity. Aretaeus stated that it was inflicted upon those who had sinned against the moon, but he also attributed the disease to demonic possession.[215] The word means "seizure," a term particularly appropriate to the type of agony suffered by the victim. Because the sufferer in his convulsions and prostration seemed so completely under the control of some alien, invisible power, the malady was most naturally interpreted as possession by a demon.[216]

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[209] *De Morbo Sacro*; quoted in Jayne, *HGAC*, p. 223.

[210] *Cels.* I.31; VII. 5,35; cf. Elliott, *Greek and Roman Medicine*, p. 136; Conybeare, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

[211] *The Mysteries of Isis and Osiris*, Ch. LXXIII, sec. 1 f., cf. sec. 3 f.; trans. by Mead, *Thrice Greatest Hermes*, I, 354 f.

[212] Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 167 and n. 5.

[213] Berlin Papyrus No. 1, line 102; ed. by Parthey, *Zwei griechische Zauber Papyri des Berliner Museums*, in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1865). Cf. the case of Germanicus, whose very serious illness was thought of as caused by various spells, incantations and names, etc., found on magical objects within the walls of the house: Tacitus, *Annals*, II.69.

[214] Conybeare, *JQR*, IX (1896), p. 88.

[215] Aretaeus, *Chronic Diseases*, Bk. I, Ch. IV.

Although all forms of disease were popularly regarded as caused by demons,[217] nervous and mental disorders which produced strangely abnormal actions were especially induced by unusually intimate contacts with the evil hordes.[218] In such cases the individual was thought to be so completely under the power of the demon that he was literally "possessed" by it. The person, while under the influence of the evil spirit, lost control of his powers. The demon, which took up its abode in the body of the person exercised complete mastery over him. It controlled his actions, his words and his thoughts. While he was possessed the individual's personality was completely submerged, that of the demon was dominant.

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[216] For epilepsy as the equivalent of insanity, cf. Tambarino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, p. 57; Montgomery, *AITM*, 219.

[217] A typical list of demonically-induced maladies from which relief is sought by supernatural means is given in Budge, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London, 1900), pp. 216-20. It includes dangers in old and unclean houses, and in ruins, pneumonia, pleurisy, inflammation of the bowels, colic, disease caused by the evil eye in the latrine, the curse, inflammation of the lungs and other organs, bronchitis, pain from wounds, a large number of diseases of nursing children such as coughs, diseases from worms, diarrhea, dysentery, and a host of others. Cf. Wessely, Papyrus No. CXXI, lines 589-611, *op. cit.*, p. 39 f., for protective measures against demons, against phantoms, against every ill and form of suffering.

[218] Aeschylus, *Cheoph.*, 566; Euripides, *Phoen.* 888; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 1054; Plutarch, *Vit. Marcell.* 20; Stafford, *Function of Divine Manifestations in NT Times*, p. 39. In Plato and Aristotle a man possessed by a wood-nymph was νυμφόληπτος, while a mad person was said to have a demon (δαιμονᾶν). Possession was referred to by Porphyry as ("falling upon"), ἔμπτωσις Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* IV.22 ff.; cf. Conybeare, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88, 98.

The belief in possession by evil spirits was powerful in Greek religion for many centuries, in fact, at practically every stage in its development.[219] In strictly Roman thought in earlier times the idea was not so prominent. The insane person was called lymphatus and regarded as possessed by a fountain spirit, while certain other waters were considered efficacious in removing the malady. When possessed he was said to be larvatus, filled with a larva or ghost.[220] But the Roman did not ordinarily interpret diseases as realistically in terms of specific indwelling spirits of evil as did the Greek and the Oriental. Ailments for him were caused by unseen forces of harm chiefly the ghosts of the dead but they were less definitely personalized,[221] as was generally characteristic of the Roman's thought of superhuman powers. By the first century however, Roman thought had become so thoroughly syncretized that these ideas were common property throughout the empire. From this time on, in practically every circle (except the Epicureans) the attitude was a part of the "standard mental equipment" of the age.[222] Babylonian, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Egyptian and various Oriental strands had been woven into the thought pattern of the time, the whole fabric of which was tinged with fear of demons as ever-present foes of human health and happiness.[223]

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[219] Harrison, Proleg., Ch. V; Tylor, Primitive Culture, II, 137 f. and sources. In the light of the wealth of evidence presented in Harrison and elsewhere it is difficult to see the justification for Farnell's statement that "the higher or even the average Greek society was comparatively and conspicuously free" from "the demoniac theory of disease" (Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921), p. 267). Obviously many of the cultured in Greece were free from it, but the facts seem to show conclusively that great numbers were profoundly influenced by it. It is of course often difficult to make accurate quantitative generalizations on the basis of literary evidence but here it is supported by many archaeological and cultic data.

[220] Livy I.7; Virgil, Aen. VII.47; VIII.339; Pliny, NH, XXXI.8; Granger, WR, p. 123 and n. 1; Plautus, Capt., III.4.66; Conybeare, JQR, IX (1896), 97.

[221] Cf. Granger, op. cit., p. 67, and infra pp. 310-14.

[222] Conybeare, loc. cit., pp. 113 f.

2. Demons in Relation to Death

In death maleficent powers found their supreme opportunity of conquering their victims. Among primitive groups it was customary to explain death in terms of supernatural causes, often demonic.

> The act of a god or of the spirits of the dead is also a cause of death known widely in the lower culture....But by far the most usual cause assigned for a death is witchcraft - the malicious act of some open or secret foe, performed not by the obvious means of violence, but by the subtle and mystic arts of magic. This does not exclude the action of angry or envious spirits, for they are frequently held to inspire the evil-doer; or his ill intentions may be accomplished by their aid.[224]

One of the evil spirits most feared among the ancient Greeks was the death-demon or Ker.[225] Belief of the Jews in an evil spirit that exercised the same function, which was finally taken over by Satan, has already been considered.[226] In Roman thought, the spirits that brought death were the ghosts of the departed, rather than one particular arch-demon with that special function.

> ...at Rome the restless spirits of the dead wander about by night, causing men to pine away, or bewitching them into madness. The explanation of death which commended itself to the Roman was that the life or soul had been enticed away by the ghosts.[227]

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[223] Porphyry, *On Abst.*, II.39; Galen, II.368; VIII.97; Scott, *Hermetica*, III.270 f., for typical expressions of belief in possession in widely different circles. For its persistence into later times, *see* Tylor, *PC*, II, 140-42 with sources.

[224] Hartland, "Death and Disposal of the Dead (Introductory and Primitive)," *ERE*, IV.413a.

[225] Cf. Theognis' prayer to Zeus, quoted in Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 173, and n. 1.

[226] Supra, pp.156 ff; cf. Conybeare, *JQR*, IX (1896), 86.

[227] Granger, *WR*, p. 67.

The deep-seated dread of these death-dealing spirits and of the torments they would inflict upon their helpless victims was prevalent among many in Roman society in the imperial age, if we may trust Lucretius, Pliny and Plutarch as witnesses.[228] Perhaps the scorn in which these writers held such fears has led to some exaggeration as to the extent of their hold upon the popular mind, but with all necessary allowances for overstatement these attitudes undoubtedly were very deep-seated and widespread.

Customs that have developed around the tragic experience of death speak far more eloquently of its real meaning than the documents of the intellectuals. These rites clearly reveal the presence of powerful taboos. According to the laws of the Twelve Tables both cremation and burial within the city walls were forbidden, only victorious generals and Vestals being excepted.[229] The priest of Jupiter was forbidden to set foot on a grave or to touch a dead body.[230] Death so contaminated a place that a cypress tree was placed before a house where it had occurred, that the Pontifex Maximus might avoid it.[231] On days when the Festival of the Dead was being observed, the temples were closed, the altars cold, and it was considered unpropitious for girls to marry.[232] Fowler explains such practices as linked up with fear of harmful spirits or ghosts. He states that the taboo or religio associated with these cult rites of the dead,

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[228] Lucretius, Book III, lines 35-40, 978-1023; Pliny, NH, VII.55, par. 190; cf. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (New Haven, 1922), p. 8. See Plutarch, On Superstition, and supra pp.298-302. Suetonius and Tacitus have shown the prevalence of such fears in the royal circles of the time.

[229] Cicero, de Legg., II.23-58; Servius, On Aeneid, XI.206; Burriss, TMS, p. 77 and sources.

[230] Gellius, Noctes Atticae, X.15.24.

[231] Servius, On Aeneid, III.64.

[232] Ovid, Fasti, II.557-64.

> ...obviously springs either from a feeling of anxiety suggested by very primitive notions of the dead and of departed spirits; or in the case of the temple of Vesta, by some mystical purification or disinfection preparatory to the ingathering of the crops;...or again in the case of the Salii, by some danger to the crops from evil spirits, etc., which might be averted by their peculiar performances.[233]

Funeral customs point in the same direction. In common with other ancient peoples the Romans considered the performances of funeral rites essential to the peace of the departed spirit.[234] Before the body was carried out for burial a purificatory sacrifice took place. A sow was offered to Ceres "for the sake of purifying the family."[235] Care was taken that the threshold should not be crossed with a dead body.[236] Where a man of high rank died, his body was taken to the Forum where an impressive ceremony was performed with the masks of his dead ancestors represented. In the course of the procedure the mask of the deceased was placed with the ancestral masks in a little wooden shrine of great sanctity.[237] Apparently the ceremony was an effective method of insuring the spirit of the newly-dead his rightful place among the shades of the departed.

In early Roman times it had been customary to offer the blood of human sacrifices to the shades of the dead at a funeral ceremony. Later this was superceded by the celebration of gladiatorial games, apparently for the same purpose.[238] Those who had participated in a funeral procession, "on returning, were sprinkled with water and walked over fire."[239] After the dead body had been removed from the house there was a very important ceremonial sweeping-out of the place. This was performed either by a state official - a lictor who ordinarily assisted the Priest of Jupiter - or by the heir of the deceased. After the sweeping had been carried out according to definite specifications, the sweeper used parched spelt and salt (these objects being known as februa) to complete the task of purification.[240]

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[233] Fowler, *RERP*, p. 40.

[234] Virgil, *Aeneid*, III.62-68.

[235] Festus, *p. 250*; cf. Mar. Victor, p. 25; quoted by Carter, "Ancestor Worship (Roman)," *ERE*, I.463b.

[236] Plutarch, *Rom. Questions*, No. 5; reference in Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 25 and n. 1.

[237] Polybius, VI.53; Granger, *WR*, pp. 64 f.

[238] Granger, *WR*, p. 64; cf. Homer, *Od.*, XI.153 for a similar Greek practice.

The inseparable association of dangerous spirits with these experiences of death is obvious in most if not all cases. The various taboos are so powerful because contact with the prohibited objects would mean demonic contamination. The rites of purification are clearly for the purpose of expelling the ghosts of the dead and any other demons that may have caused the death or been attracted to the polluted places. The objects used in the ceremonies of cleansing were those regularly used in a variety of magical rituals for apotropaic and exorcistic purposes.

Other practices in connection with the Roman cult of the dead are uniformly of similar nature. Parentalia and Feralia were almost exclusively devoted to the placation of the ghosts of the dead.[241] The ceremonies at the mundus, the gate of the doleful underworld gods, on the three appointed days each year, were for protection against possible encroachments on human happiness by these dreaded spirits.[242] The woollen balls and images hung up at the festival of the Lares of the crossroads were clearly apotropaic. Festus says,

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[239] Festus, Aqua et Igni (Mueller, p. 2); quoted in Burriss, TMS, p. 75 and n. 142.

[240] Burriss, pp. 155 f., with sources. The apotropaic significance of purification has already been considered. Cf. Miss Harrison's summary on such rites, "...in a word purification is the placation of ghosts." Proleg., p. 53.

[241] Cf. Harrison, Proleg., p. 52.

[242] Festus, p. 154; Harrison, p. 47 and n. 3.

> ...as many balls as there are slaves and as many effigies as there are freeborn men and women in the family are set up, that the spirits may spare the living and be content with these balls as substitutes.[243]

February was the month par excellence for purificatory rites and sacrifices to the dead, the time for placation of all spirits from the underworld and riddance of all hostile influences, that they might begin the new year without any ghostly hindrances.[244] By means of this variety of practices throughout the year the Roman tried strenuously to insure that freedom from evil spirits which would guarantee the health and happiness of the whole family and the community.

C. The Nature of Demons

Our major concern must continue to be with the vital functions that demons exercised in relation to the basic life-experiences of people. But it will throw some light on this problem to note by way of summary some of the chief literary and philosophical interpretations of these spirit powers that prevailed in the ancient world. This will also reveal clearly the striking differences between the popular views and the ideas of the intellectuals.

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[243] "Pilae Effigies" (Mueller, p. 239); Laneae, p. 121 Macrobius, Sat., I.7.35; quoted in Burriss, TMS, p. 107 and n. 85.

[244] So Plutarch, Rom. Questions, Nos. 25 and 34; Harrison, Proleg, p. 50 f. The Roman fear of ghostly demons was intensified by the belief that the spirits of murdered persons haunted their slayers to take vengeance and could be pacified only by the death of the guilty one (Rohde, Psyche, n. 148, pp. 210 f.; Burriss, TMS, pp. 40 and n. 51; Apuleius, Metam., VIII.12). The ghosts of all those who died prematurely or by violence (as hanging, beheading, crucifixion) were thought to appear to the living (Lucian, Philopseudes, Ch. XXIX). These spirits were by some said to become demons and to be subject to the power of the magicians (Cumont, ALRP, pp. 134 f., and nn. 21-23).

I. Helpful Demons

The Greek term δαίμων sometimes δαιμόνιον, was originally used of a spirit-being intermediate between the human and the divine. It carried no implication as to the moral quality of the being so designated. In actual practice in early Greek times it seems to have been applied chiefly to spirits that fulfilled functions that were helpful to mankind.[245] In the course of time the character of the *daimon* was indicated by a qualifying adjective.[246] The use of the term by the Christians in a wholly derogatory sense eventually resulted in its application exclusively to evil spirits.

Homer used δαίμων in the sense of "god" or "divine being," sometimes helpful, sometimes harmful in character, as did some of the tragic poets.[247] For Hesiod they were the souls of the men who had lived in the Golden Age.

> But now that fate has closed over this race
> They are holy demons upon the earth,
> Beneficent, averters of ills, guardians of mortal men.[248]

These kindly powers, representatives of a superior race of men, are thus qualified to assist Zeus in bringing many blessings to men.[249]

Plato also sees in the demons helpful powers, who act as intermediaries between the gods and men. Speaking of Love as a δαίμων he says,

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[245] *See, e.g.*, quotations from Euripides and Menander, by Legge, "The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri," *PSBA*, XXIII (1901), p. 44; *also* Rohde, *Psyche*, n. 133, pp. 207 f.

[246] For a fuller presentation of the use of the Greek terms *see* Liddell and Scott, *Greek-Eng. Lexicon*, new ed. rev. by Jones and McKenzie, to be in 10 parts (Oxford, 1925 ff.); Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, pp. 76 f.

[247] Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* (Boston, 1892), p. 155, n.

[248] Quoted in Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 398; Jowett's trans., 4 vols. (Boston, 1871), I, 636.

[249] Cf. Plutarch's interpretation of Hesiod, in *Cessation of Oracles*, X, with Rohde's criticism, *Psyche*, p. 71, and n. 35, p. 85.

> This is the power which interprets and conveys to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and rewards of the gods; and this power spans the chasm which divides them, and in this all is bound together, and through this the arts of the prophet and the priest, their sacrifices and mysteries and charms, and all prophecy and incantation, find their way. For God mingles not with man; and through this power all the intercourse and speech of God with man, whether awake or asleep, is carried on....Now these spirits or intermediate powers are many and divine, and one of them is Love.[250]

The idea of demons as good guardian spirits became a favorite one with Graeco-Roman authors. Sometimes it took the form of a spirit for each individual, to safeguard his interests and well-being. Here there is a combination of the term and the intermediary concept from Greek circles with the Roman idea of the *genius* of each man and the *juno* of each woman.[251] Epictetus represents this conception in a typical passage,

> Zeus has placed by every man a guardian, every man's daemon, a guardian who never sleeps, is never deceived. For to what better and more careful guardian could he have entrusted each of us? When, then, you have shut the doors, and made darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone, for you are not; God is within and your daemon is within, and what need of light have they to see what you are doing?[252]

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[250] *Symposium*, pp. 202 f., Jowett's trans., I, 495. Trede, *Wunderglaube im Heidentum, u.s.w.* (Gotha, 1901), p. 176, n., attributes this Platonic idea to an Oriental source.

[251] Cf. Menander, "By each man there stands from his hour of birth, a demon, a good mystagogue through life," (Frag. 550); Greek text in Halliday, *History of Roman. Rel.*, p. 27, n. 1; also in Plutarch, *Tranquillity of Mind*, p. 15.

[252] Epictetus, *Discourses*, I.14; quoted by Glover, "The Daimon Environment of the Primitive Christian," *Hibbert Journal*, XI (1912), 164; Posidonius represented a similar conception; see Ritchey, *Quests for Salvation in New Testament Times* (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago Libraries, 1922), p. 75 and n. 77, p. 164. Glover (p. 164) gives parallels among other ancient peoples; Rohde gives sources for its appearances in Stoicism, *Psyche*, n. 44, pp. 514 f. Olympiodorus (*Scholia on First Alcibiades* of Plato; quoted in Jones' trans. of Apuleius, pp. 365 f., n.) calls this demon conscience, "the supreme flower of the soul...guiltless...an inflexible judge."

Demons have an important place in Plutarch's system of thought. They become for him, as Dill aptly remarks, "a new philosophic mythology, created to give meaning and morality to the old gods."[253] Through the use of demons he is able to steer a religio-philosophic course between Epicurean atheism on the one hand and popular superstition on the other. He sees in these spirit powers, as did Plato, the necessary means of contact and intercourse between deity and humanity. Demons communicate potentially with all men, but actually their messages are received only by "those who have the untroubled nature and the still soul," such as Socrates who was constantly under the guidance of a beneficent spirit or genius.[254] In this capacity these guardian demons assist men in the struggle of life just as people on land give help and encouragement to swimmers who are battling against the waves in their efforts to reach the shore.[255] As agents of the gods they also preside over the mysteries of the cults, the oracles, and other methods of mediating the divine will to men.[256] The demons partake of human and divine attributes, representing the step nearest the gods. Good men may in time be elevated through the intermediary stages, heroes and demons, to deity.[257]

Maximus of Tyre closely parallels Plutarch in his theory of demons. They are a great multitude, a host of heavenly interpreters of God to man, "healers of the sick, revealers of what is dark, aiding the craftsman, companions of the wayfarer, On land and sea, in the city and the field, they are ever with us."[258]

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[253] Dill, RSNA, p. 479.

[254] De Gen. Socr., pp. 20, 588 f.; trans. by Glover, Conflict of Religions, p. 101.

[255] De Gen. Socr., p. 24. The whole treatise is significant as an expression of Plutarch's religious outlook.

[256] De Def. Orac., XIII; cf. all of this work, and the treatise, On the Apparent Face in the Moon's Orb, XXX (King's trans., London, 1882), 254 f.; De Iside, pp. 25, 80, 383.

[257] Morals, trans. by King, pp. 20 ff.; Vit. Rom., p. 28; Harrison, Proleg., pp. 504 f.; Thorndike, HMES, pp. 204-11, has a good summary of Plutarch's interpretation of demons.

Apuleius, like Plutarch, was tremendously concerned with demons as the indispensable link between the gods and men. He mentions three kinds (1) the genius, or human soul while still in the body, (2) the disembodied spirit, lemur, (lar or larva), (3) the demon as conscience, in which he is chiefly interested.[259] He says that these beings are

> ...intermediate between us and the Gods, both in the place of their habitation, and in their nature; having immortality in common with the Gods of heaven, and passions in common with subordinate beings...demons are as to genus animated beings, as to mind rational, as to feelings passive, as to body aerial, as to duration eternal. Of these five characteristics...the first three are the same as those which we possess, the fourth is peculiar to themselves, and the last they possess in common with the immortal Gods, from whom they differ in being subject to passion.[260]

As to functions, these spirits are guardians of their particular individuals through all the dangers and vicissitudes of this present life, and after death each demon conducts the soul in its charge before the judgment seat and pleads its case before the Great Judge.[261] According to Celsus there were in the Egyptian system, thirty-six demons that had supervision over the thirty-six parts of the body, each guarding a particular portion of the human anatomy. Each demon had its name, and those who were suffering from diseases need only to pray to the appropriate guardian to be healed.[262]

II. Harmful Demons

Although the term δαίμων and its variants were used frequently in the literary sources in application to helpful spirit forces, they were also employed in referring to evil powers. With the increase of Christianity's influence this usage came in time to be dominant, and almost exclusive. A brief consideration of this usage will suffice here, as this aspect will be presented more fully in the study of exorcism. Homer's use of the term (δαίμων) as a dangerous spirit of disease has already been cited.[263] Other early Greek writers who also recognized the existence and activities of bad demons were Xenocrates, Chrysippus, Empedocles and Theophrastus.[264] In many cases these demons were the departed spirits of bad men who eventually were to be purified by punishment. It was these evil demons and not the gods that demanded the offering of sacrifices to appease their insatiable thirst for blood. Empedocles presents a vivid picture of these unfortunate spirits, buffeted about between earth and heaven and refused a haven of rest by terrestrial and celestial bodies until the days of their purification should be completed. Then only would they be permitted to join the ranks of the good demons.

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[258] Dill, RSNA, pp. 429 f., on Max. Tyr., Diss., XIV.8; see also Scott, Hermetica, III, 230.

[259] Apuleius, De Deo Socr., Jones' trans. in Bohn Library (London, 1914), pp. 363-67.

[260] Ibid., p. 362.

[261] Ibid., pp. 356 f., 364 f.; read the whole of the work.

[262] Origen, Cels., VIII.58.

Pausanias records a tragic tale of a disembodied spirit, the ghost of one of the followers of Ulysses, that became a menace to the whole community of Temessa until its demand for the sacrifice of a beautiful maiden each year was granted. Finally the city was freed from the scourge by a famous athlete, Euthymus, who mastered the demon and forced him to drown himself in the sea.[265]

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[263] Supra, p. 315.

[264] Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," JQR, IX (1896), 113; cf. p. 100 for references to peculiar demonic monsters, empresas or hobgoblins, with donkey's legs, that lived in dry places.

[265] Pausanias, vi,6.7-11.

The suggestion by various Greek writers that the demons had been responsible for the multitude of evil and immoral deeds earlier attributed to the Olympian gods proved to be an effective apologetic for those who were striving to elevate the moral tone of deity.[266] But it also provided the Christians with powerful ammunition to be used in their attacks upon all the gods of paganism as in reality demons and not genuine deities. Plutarch freely uses this interpretation of these sinister spirits that

> ...assert their vast power, and display their malevolence, not only in plague, pestilence, and death, and all the desolating convulsions of the physical world, but in the moral perversion and deception of the human race. They are accountable for all that shocks the moral sense in the impure or ghastly tales which the poets have told of the gods, and in the gloomy or obscene rites which are celebrated in their honour.[267]

Plutarch even makes the surprising suggestion that each of the blessed gods has one of these evil demons associated with him as a sort of counterpart, and that the fiendish spirits are permitted to perpetrate all sorts of shocking immoralities in the names of their respective deities.[268]

Apuleius recognizes, in addition to the various types of helpful spirits, a kind that is malicious. It is the disembodied spirit of the dead, known by the ancient Latins as a lemur. Of these lemures, he says that the one assuming the supervision of posterity is known as the "familiar" lar.

> But those who, having no fixed habitation of their own, are punished with vague wandering, as with a kind of exile, on account of the evil deeds of their life, are usually called 'Larvae,' thus becoming a vain terror to the good, but a source of punishment to the bad. But when it is uncertain what is the allotted condition of any one of these, and whether it is Lar or Larva, it is called a God Manes; the name of

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[266] Conybeare, p. 113 for sources.

[267] Dill, RSNA, p. 432.

[268] Plutarch, On Isis, XXV; cf. Rom. Quest., No. 51; Cessation of Oracles, XIV, XVII.

God being added for the sake of honor.[269] Apuleius, in his attempt to combine the Roman with the Greek thought stresses one of the basic aspects of Roman demonology: the spirit most feared by the average Roman was a ghost. The same author calls attention to another phase of Roman thought in his identification of the demon with the "genius" of the individual, the shadowm spirit-double that attended the individual through life.[270] He might be good or evil, according to the individual's original choice, but once selected there was no chance for change. In the case of Socrates the spirit was a blessed guardian that led him in the way of virtue and wisdom. In the case of Brutus it rose up before him as a grim monster, a short time before his death, and pronounced his coming doom.[271]

Most of the demonologies of later writers follow the lines laid down by those already considered. Pagan and Christian alike recognize the reality and the tremendous power for evil of these myriad hosts in their relations with human beings.[272] Christian writings, Gnostic documents, the Hermetic and other mystery literature, and the papyri bear united testimony to the deadly menace to the individual and to society of the demonic legions. In the later periods the tendency toward giving these spirits more cosmic significance and organizing them into hierarchies becomes more marked.[273]

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[269] Apuleius, De Deo Socr., Jones' trans., p. 364.

[270] Ibid., pp. 363 f.

[271] Plutarch, Brutus, XXXVI.

[272] A good example is the case of Origen and Celsus whose beliefs are strikingly parallel, sometimes identical. See Origen, Cels., VIII.58-60, and Conybeare, loc. cit., pp. 99 f.

[273] See Porphyry, De abst., II.41; Iamblichus, De Mens., IV.25; quoted in Scott, Hermetica, Vol. III, pp. 267 f., cf. p. 259; Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 79; Asc. III.28; quoted in Scott, III.259; Angus, Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, pp. 37-41 with sources.

By way of summary on the interpretation of demons by the educated writers of the Graeco-Roman world the following points should be noted:

1. The use of the Greek term δαίμων or its derivatives is not an accurate criterion in a study of the evil powers that menaced Roman life. It was quite varied in its usage, being employed in reference both to helpful and to harmful spirits. We must find the real significance for our problem in human experiences rather than in terminology.

2. In both Greek and Roman life, other terms were often far more meaningful, with reference to threatened evils, than the term δαίμων.[274]

3. Like the terms used by most of the writers, the outstanding elements of these theories have been predominately Greek, with an intermingling of some Roman phases of thinking.

4. The interpretations of demons by the intellectuals are largely apologetic. They serve two major purposes: (a) they make possible a genuine method of contact between transcendent deity and mortal humanity and save the moral character of the gods, (b) they prove effective as weapons in the fight against the current superstitions which hold the populace in the grip of fear.

5. In making these Greek concepts vital for the Roman world there was necessarily some adaptation to the Roman background. The final product was syncretistic. These elements hold an important place in the resultant interpretations: (a) the old Roman idea of the genius is retained in the function of the guardian spirits; (b) the basic Greek emphasis upon the intermediary

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[274] This has not been discussed specifically in this section but has been clearly evident throughout the discussion of the functions of evil powers in the various areas of Roman experience.

character of demons also persists, and raises the genius concept to a higher dignity;[275] (c) the spirits of the departed which held so many terrors for the Roman continued to exercise their malicious functions, though often under a new name; (d) influences from Oriental sources brought in a new astrological emphasis; (e) the demand for higher ethical standards in religion and the continued insistence of the Christian thinkers augmented the ranks of the demons by the addition of the gods of the old popular faiths as also malicious spirit powers.

D. Summary

Our study of the functions of demons in Roman life has brought out the following points.

1. In early Roman life there was no interest in organization, classification or formal intellectual interpretation of hostile spirits.

2. These spirits were undefined, vaguely-understood powers, invisible, but ever-present and potent for harm.

3. They were inseparably linked with that sense of fear and awe that characterized Roman religio in all stages of its development.

4. These dangerous powers were involved both in man's relation to the physical and natural forces of his universe and in his contacts with other people, especially with strange or foreign groups.

5. These spirits were intimately bound up with all the vital processes of food-getting, happy family life, the maintenance of health, and the successful continuance of the whole social

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[275] This finds striking expression in the worship of the genius of the Emperor in the imperial cult.

and political order.

6. Very few of these forces were personalized. Silvanus and Mars, the spirits of the wild, uninhabited regions and the dangerous animals they harbored, and of the arts of warfare, were notable exceptions; but even these did not start fully developed.

7. Ghosts of the dead occupied a larger place in Roman thought and practice than any other type of spirit.

8. By the imperial period, influences from Greek and Oriental cultures brought about changes in the Roman thought about demonic powers, but very little change in their basic functions in daily life. Through these influences the spirits (a) were classified in accordance with the Greek terminology, (b) became more personalized, and (c) often received individual names.

9. The growing complexity of city life, with a high degree of social, economic and political insecurity for the average individual, intensified the sense of insufficiency of his own powers, increased emotional instability, and swelled the number of those who were "possessed" by demons.

10. These tendencies were augmented during the period of "the Terror" under Nero and succeeding emperors, with a corresponding increase in the fear of evil spirits.

11. The spread of astrological beliefs and practices contributed a heavy quota to the already prevalent dread of demons, emphasizing particularly the cosmic significance of these powers of evil.

12. The growing influence in the Graeco-Roman world of a thoroughgoing dualism such as developed in Judaism and Mithraism tended to confirm the existing fears of sinister spirits by "the

enthronement of an evil power beside the good."[276]

13. There was a decided difference between the significance of demons for the populace in whom we are most concerned and for the educated classes. Although the latter often tried to crush out the superstitious fears of the multitudes and strove to raise the moral level of religious ideas and practices, their interpretations of the gods of the old faiths as demons must have seemed to the common people to give the sanction of the intellectuals to their own deep-seated fears.

14. The persistance of this popular dread of demonic powers was almost inevitable under the prevailing supernaturalistic world view. Life's dangers were real and inescapable. They were beyond men's own power to control. With the dominant world view of the time they traced these ills to superhuman sources of evil, and tried to ally themselves with good superhuman beings powerful enough to avert or conquer the demons.

How Roman society succeeded in warding off and exorcising its evil spirits will be considered in the following chapters.

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[276] Dill, RSNA, p. 454.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIGENOUS ROMAN FORMS OF EXORCISM

The term exorcism is here used in a very inclusive sense. It is by no means limited to one particular type of procedure of expelling demons by set formulae, but is applied to all practices whose purpose was to ward off hostile spirit forces or to drive them away if they had already attacked their victims. In a word we shall be concerned with all the protective techniques which Roman society had developed to safeguard itself individually and collectively against all maleficent superhuman powers that infested its ranks. These practices will be considered under three major headings: (1) Indigenous Roman Methods, (2) Practices in Imported Cults and (3) Private Practices. Because a complex life-situation refuses to be separated into completely isolated fragments, the lines of distinction are sometimes very difficult to draw. But the general outlines will be clear in most instances.

In the present chapter we shall consider all those types of apotropaic and expulsive acts embodied in the established Roman religion and officially recognized by it as valid for protective purposes. This classification will include not only those practices which were performed by the religious officials of the state but also ceremonies observed with general sanction in the family and other circles by private individuals to safeguard themselves or their groups. For the most part these are the practices that have been interwoven by centuries of observance into the basic fabric of Roman attitudes and customs. If we interpret the expression somewhat flexibly we may say that they represent the orthodox Roman methods of dealing with hostile supernatural forces.

Under this heading will be discussed the following types of exorcistic practice: (1) Official ritualistic acts, (2) Purification ceremonies, (3) Use of amulets and other apotropaic objects. Many of these practices have already been mentioned in the preceeding chapter as having powers of aversion or expulsion, hence our consideration here will supplement earlier references.

A. Official Acts of Public Ritual

I. Scapegoat Ceremony

By this time it has become clear that a major purpose of the early Roman rites was exorcistic and that this significance persisted down into the imperial age. One of the most significant cult practices was performed by the Salii, the leaping priests of Mars during the month of March. Beginning with the first of the month, which was also the beginning of the Roman year, they formed a procession through the streets of the city, clad in bronze armor, and carrying shields and staffs in their hands. They danced along in a solemn rhythm, chanting their sacred ancient hymn and beating their shields with their staffs. They visited various important sections of the city, spending each night at a separate lodging place. On the fourteenth day of the month a man clad in a goatskin and called Mamurius Veturius (Old Mars) was beaten with their staffs by the Salii and run out of the city. He thus became a human scapegoat who had laid upon him all the evil spirits and influences that had infested the city, but which were now expelled by this vigorous ceremony.[1]

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[1] Frazer, The Golden Bough, 12 vols.(3rd ed.; London, 1907-15), vol. IX, "The Scapegoat," pp. 229-34, with source mate-

Originally this Old Mars must have represented the evils that threatened men and crops, such as pestilence, blight and infertility; later he embodied the evils that threatened city life. In the Carmen Arvale he is implored to save the people from epidemics and plagues.[2]

II. Dancing and Striking

Both dancing and striking - methods used by the Salii - were considered efficacious in averting evils.[3] The lustrations performed for the weapons and the men who were preparing for a military expedition, involved the use of both these procedures.[4] We have already seen[5] that the demons of barrenness were driven out of childless women by the strokes applied by the two youths at the Lupercalia festival. The rites observed to protect the newly-born infant and its mother from the evil attacks of Silvanus involved the vigorous acts of striking, cutting and sweeping at the door of the house.[6]

III. Sweeping

The act of sweeping to remove "spiritual" as well as physical evils was a familiar rite to the devotee of the old

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rials and a wealth of parallels from other peoples; Burriss, Taboo, Magic, Spirits, (New York 1931), pp. 171 ff. Plutarch tells of a practice current in his home city Chaeronea in his time in which hunger is expelled from the community. A man representing hunger is beaten with rods and driven from the city with the words, "Out with hunger, in with wealth and health." (Q. Symp., VI, 8; reference in Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, (2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1908), pp. 105 f.). The Pharmakos ritual at Athens, to rid the city of famine and pestilence was similar. Sometimes two scapegoats, a man and a woman, were employed in this rite. See Harrison, op. cit., pp. 95-108.

[2] CIL., I, 28; quoted in Jayne, The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations, (New Haven, 1925), p. 433.

[3] Frazer, op. cit., gives numerous examples of the use of both practices among many groups.

[4] Burriss, op. cit., p. 39 and sources.

[5] Supra, p.291; Harrison, op. cit., p. 53.

[6] Quoted supra, pp. 293 f.

Roman faith. He was accustomed to its observance with ceremonial exactness in cleansing the house after its pollution by a corpse.[7] It rid the place of any dangers from the ghost of the departed and of the sinister forces that brought about his death. The rites of the Parilia festival included a ceremonial sweeping of the sheepfold for protection against harmful powers. So firmly was this rite (like many others) imbedded in the Roman consciousness that it continued centuries after the change from agricultural to city life.[8] No doubt the evils to be removed were those that endangered people in their urban life. The sweepings (Purgamina) secured from the ritualistic cleansing of the temple of Vesta on the fifteenth of June, which were thrown into the Tiber, were also considered efficacious in expelling evil spirits.[9]

IV. Laughing

In the Lupercalia ceremonies the two youths who performed the expulsive acts were also required to laugh. Apparently this was a wild, hideous laugh in which they imitated the wolf. Fowler suggests that this signifies the "possession of the young men by the spirit of the patron deity of the rite."[10] Though a possible interpretation, this seems hardly in line with early sober Roman thought, which found little place for such ecstatic experiences. In later times, under Greek and Oriental influences, it may have been adopted. For the earlier period - and perhaps throughout - it seems more probable that it was another act to ward off dangerous influences, perhaps demons of pestilence.[11]

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[7] Burriss, op. cit., pp. 155-65 with sources.

[8] Fowler, RERP, p. 474; RF, Index on "Parilia."

[9] Burriss, op. cit., pp. 158 f.

[10] Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, (London, 1911), pp. 106, 111 f., with references to other interpretations.

[11] So Granger, Worship of the Romans, (London, 1895), p. 113 and n. 1, p. 108; cf. Pliny, NH VII, 19; Preller, Romische Myth-

V. Sacrifices

Sacrifices were often performed largely for the purpose of aversion of evil powers. Livy records a supplicatio observed in 180 B.C., by order of the decemviri, in honor of Apollo, Aesculapius and Salus, to save the people from a severe pestilence that was raging.[12] During a three-day fire and a disastrous plague in the reign of Titus, the Emperor sought to check their ravages by all possible kinds of sacrifice and all human methods of healing available.[13] According to Clement of Alexandria, Marius the Roman sacrificed his daughter to the "Averters of Evil" in a critical situation.[14] But the apotropaic aspect of sacrifice was not limited to these isolated cases. It was an important, even a basic, element in the whole Roman sacrificial system. The "gods" to whom sacrifices were offered were far mor feared than loved by the mass of the people, and the performance of their rites was largely to avert their anger and hence to ward off any attacks from them. With a recognition of this fundamental attitude in Roman religion it becomes clear that practically all of the sacrificial acts had an apotropaic meaning. This includes not only such regular religious festivals as the Lupercalis, Robigalia, Terminalia, Fordicidia, Volcanalia, Parilia, and Suovetaurilia, but also special offerings made to the various deities for healing diseases and averting a multitude of ills.

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ologie, 3 Aufl. by Jordan, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1881-83), I, 269.

[12] Fowler, RF, p. 191; cf. Pliny, NH, XXXV, 19.

[13] Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, Titus VIII.

[14] Clem. of Alex., Protrep., chap. 3; quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Ev., Bk. IV, chap. XVI. An even more striking case is that of devotio, the sacrifice of his life by a prominent leader, by a solemn ceremonial procedure that culminated in his riding alone against the enemy's weapons, to secure a glorious victory for his army. Cf. Fowler, RERP, pp. 207 f. for the case of Decius. See also infra, pp. 339 f.

VI. Acts of Healing Deities

Of these Roman gods who exercised healing functions we may mention briefly Fabris, the god of fever; Mephitis, of stench; Fessonia, who gave help to the weary; "Sweet Cloacina," who presided over the sewer system; Angeronia, who aided those stricken with plague; Fluonia and Uterina, who ministered to the peculiar needs of women; Ossipiga, who cared for the bones of children; Carna, who presided over the abdominal organs, and was especially beneficent in averting evil influences and warding off the blood-sucking striges from helpless children.[15]

Fascinus was regarded as one of the most potent deities in warding off malicious spirits.

> He was a symbol of the power most efficacious in averting evil influences, and was the protector against sorcery and malignant demons; while as a healing deity he protected the members of the family from illness and women until they had conceived. Children wore his image around their necks to avoid witchcraft and envy, and he was invoked just before the marriage ceremony, by young women, who sacrificed their maiden clothing to him. The State set up a statue in his honor.[16]

VII. Spoken Formulae

Another method of expelling evil spirits was by means of a spoken formula. The Lemuria rites, performed by the father of the household to lay the ghosts of the dead, are the most striking example of this to be found in the old Roman faith.[17] After the proper ceremonial preparation at midnight the head of the family, walking through the house with black beans in his mouth, accompanying his other actions with apotropaic movements of his hands, spat out the beans and nine times repeated the formula, "With these I redeem me and mine." After a second washing of his hands and the pounding of brass vessels he repeated nine times the second formula, "Manes exite paterni" and the rite was finished.[18]

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[15] Elliot, Greek and Roman Medicine, (New York, 1914), p. 3; Jayne, HGAC, pp. 458 f.; cf. Ovid, Fasti, VI, 129-68; Preller, op. cit., I, 184 ff., II, 234-44. Imported healing deities will be considered infra, Chap. IX.

[16] Jayne, HGAC, p. 421; cf. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, (2 Aufl.; München, 1912), p. 243.

[17] See supra, p.297 for quotation from Ovid on this practice.

As in the case of so many other practices the procedure here involved a number of types of activity, of which the exorcism formula represented but one. The presence of these adjurations in the Lemuria - certainly one of the oldest cult rites of the Roman religion[19] - is clear evidence of the antiquity of this method which became so widespread by the time of the early empire. Many other ritualistic practices also had their set formulae which must be followed with the greatest accuracy to insure success. When Decius performed his famous "devotio" in 340 B.C., to bring victory to the Roman arms in a great crises, he applied to the pontifex maximus for the correct formula that his sacrifice might have its greatest efficacy. In fact it was one of the major tasks of the pontiff to safeguard, use and pass on to future generations the exact content of all these formulae. The slightest mistake in the recital of a formula might ruin its effectiveness, hence this was sometimes guarded against by the advance offering of an animal as a piacular sacrifice.[20]

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[18] It is instructive to compare the Greek Anthesteria festival which was also a rite for driving out the ghosts of the dead. Formulae were likewise employed for the exorcism. See Frazer, GB., "The Scapegoat," pp. 152-54; Harrison, Proleg., pp. 8-10, 35, 39; for other similar Greek rites, pp. 64, 70; Rohde, Psyche, (New York, 1925), n. 168, p. 214; Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1896-1909), V, 318; R 124e, p. 220.

[19] Cf. Fowler, RERP, p. 394: "The Lemuria represents the ideas of the older race that occupied the site of Rome, while the Parentalia is originally the festival of the patrician immigrants."

[20] See infra p.339 for the "devotio" formula of Decius. On the general necessity of great accuracy see Pliny, NH., XXVIII, 4.; Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy, (London, 1926), p. 69; Granger, WR, pp. 157 f.

Marcellus gives one of the standard incantations for curing a sore on the body. The hand was to be placed upon the afflicted spot in a specified manner and the following words uttered:

> Depart whether produced today or aforetime, whether created today or aforetime. This plague, this pestilence, this pain, this tumor, this inflammation, these goitres, these tonsils, this bunch, these swellings, this scrofula, this blotch, I call forth, I draw out, I exorcise by means of this magic from these limbs and marrow.[21]

VIII. Prayer

Even in prayers this element of magic was present. They too must be repeated with verbatim exactness to be valid. They were also frequently chanted as incantations. The need for such extreme accuracy in recital, the chanting, the repetition which was so frequently demanded for efficacy (often three or nine times), the uttering of many prayers in an undertone which kept their exact contents secret, and the form of command in which many were cast - all these facts indicate clearly that many of the orthodox Roman cult prayers were, in reality, magical formulae, often with a distinctly apotropaic purpose.[22] The exactness with which the names of the deities must be uttered in all cult practices is further proof of their protective character.

B. Purification Rites and Media

I. Lustrations

These are closely bound up with many practices already considered, but deserve special mention because of their distinctive character. Rites of purification in Rome, as in Greek, Hebrew and other circles, had a clear-cut purpose of averting evil spirit powers.[23] Here may be listed the various forms of *Lustratio*, for crops, flocks and herds, weapons of war, soldiers on entering and again at the end of a campaign, war horses, the house and its occupants, and for various activities to insure health and successful protection against all hostile influences.[24] While in a more general sense it might be said that all Roman rituals involved an element of purification, it was particularly prominent in some of them.

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[21] Marcellus, Remedies, XV, 11; quoted in Case, Exp. With the Supernatural, (New York, 1929), p. 77. cf. the use of exorcistic formulae by Carna, Jayne, HGAC, pp. 458 f.

[22] These points are all developed, with ample source materials as evidence, by Burriss, TMS, Chap. VI, an illuminating presentation. On the need for ritual exactness see Fowler, The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic, (London, 1899), p. 337; Rose, PCI, p. 69. The prayer at the Ambarvalia festival of May 29th, as given by Cato, is a fine illustration of petition (with sacrifice, etc.) for apotropaic purposes. See Fowler, RF, pp. 126 f. for text of it. On early prayer as incantation, cf.

II. Februa

A number of objects were especially potent for purification, including fire, water, laurel, pine, sulphur, wool, blood, salt and spelt. Such objects were designated as *februa*, and were regarded as possessing some inherent power that made them effective purifying agents. This potency within the objects was in most cases sufficient to ward off the threatened dangers, but often their efficacy was increased by the use of incantations or appropriate actions, or both.[25] In most cases the objects which were most effective as *februa* were those suitable for removing physical as well as spiritual impurities, the latter qualification, in the mind of primitive man, logically following the former.

Farnell, *Evolution of Rel.*, (London, 1905), Lecture IV.

[23] For Greek, *see* Harrison, *Proleg.*, chap. I, also pp. 162, 492 f., and n. 2; for usage among many groups, Farnell, *Evol. of Rel.*, Lecture III; for Hebrew, *supra*, pp.217-34, with sources.

[24] Cf. *supra*, pp. 333 f; Rose, *PCI*, p. 64; Fowler, *RF*, and *RERP*, indexes on "Lustrations;" Preller, *Rom. Myth.*, I, 425 and sources.

[25] Cf. Burriss, *TMS*, chap. V, for a good discussion of this whole theme; Fowler, *RERP*, p. 210.

1. Fire

Fire, because of its marvelous mysterious potency, was naturally regarded as one of the most efficacious purifying agencies. At the Festival of Pales in April, the farmer, his family and his flocks jumped through three bonfires of bean straw. That the purpose was to burn away all threatening evil influence is shown by Ovid's explanation of the rite's significance, "Consuming fire cleanses all things and refines the impurities from metal; therefore it cleanses sheep and shepherd."[26] A person who returned from attending a funeral must be sprinkled with water and walk over fire, quite obviously as a protective rite against dangers incurred from his contact with death and all its accompanying perils.[27] Every year, at the Festival of Apollo Soranus, some of the priests known as Wolves of Soranus walked barefoot over hot coals.[28] A Roman bride was required to touch fire and water.[29] Evidently the purpose in the various cases was apotropaic as well as cathartic. A late writer, picturing the purification of the city of Rome after the contamination incurred in its contact with the foreign invader Alaric, reveals clearly the powerful significance of fire in destroying evil influences, near the end of the imperial period.

> The priest whirls lustral torches of blazing pungent sulphur and bitumen about the person to be purified; he sprinkles sacred waters and grasses which have the power to rout evil influences. With his hands turned backward he hurls torches to the south. These are to carry off with them all the spells which have been cast upon the sick.[30]

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[26] Fasti, IV, 785 f.; quoted in Burriss, TMS, p. 227

[27] Festus, Aqua et igni (Mueller, pp. 2 f.); ref. in Burriss, TMS, p. 153.

[28] Burriss, TMS, pp. 227 f., and n. 97 for sources.

[29] Plutarch, Rom. Ques., No. 1.

[30] Burriss' description, pp. 153 f.; source is Claudianus, De Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti, pp. 324-30. In the work of Cyril of Jerusalem is a comparison of exorcism with the purifying of gold by fire. He says, "Even so without exorcisms the soul

2. Water

Water, like fire, was frequently used for similar purposes. Because of its natural value as a purifier from physical pollution it has been used practically universally as a means of cleansing from invisible "spiritual" pollution. Some instances of the use of both fire and water in the same ceremony have just been cited. When Carna was performing potent rites for warding off evil influences from an infant she sprinkled the entrance to the household with water in which a drug had been mixed.[31] Washing with water, both before and after the major portions of the ceremony, was a necessary part of the Lemuria ritual for the laying of the ancestral shades. In fact, sprinkling with water for purposes of ritual purification was so common a practice as to require little more than mere mention.[32] Various spring of water were considered efficacious to cure diseases and avert many unseen evils.[33] Among other virtues, they could remove the dangerous contagion attached to a foreigner.[34] The purpose of many of these uses of water may well be summarized in Pfleiderer's words, "These customs of purification met with everywhere, rest upon the presupposition that it is the divine power dwelling in water which serves to expel demons and their baleful poison."[35]

3. Sulphur

Of other purifying objects in common use, sulphur was

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cannot be purified; and these exorcisms are divine, having been collected out of the divine Scriptures." (Procatechesis, 9; NPNF, 2nd series, VII, 3a).

[31] Ovid, Fasti, VI, 157

[32] Ovid, Fasti, II, 45; cf. Pfleiderer, Early Christian Conception of Christ, (London, 1905), p. 119 and context.

[33] Pliny, NH, XXXI, 6-12; Burriss, TMS, pp. 218, 237 f., and sources; Apuleius, Metam., XI, 23; Farnell, Evol. of Rel., pp. 104 f.; Eusebius, Praep. Ev., IV, 22 f., for their use in Neo-Platonism. Porphyry specifically states the purpose, "Not in order that we may induce the presence of the gods, but that these wretched things (demons) may keep off." quoted in Harrison, Proleg., p. 168.

[34] Livy, I, 45. 4-7.

[35] Pfleiderer, op. cit., p. 118 based upon a widespread pre-

burned at the Festival of Pales for lustrating the sheep.[36] At the same ceremony it was mixed with the blood of the October horse, with bean straw, and with the ashes of the unborn calves sacrificed at the *Fordicidia* of April 15th, and scattered by the Vestals as a powerful fertility charm.[37] Tibullus burned sulphur for the restoration to health of his sweetheart Delia while a witch was chanting appropriate incantations to drive away the hostile spirits.[38] In the removal of the pollution brought to Rome by the invasion of Alaric's army,[39] torches of sulphur and bitumen were employed.

4. Salt

Salt was used in a great variety of ceremonial practices, many of which were for purification, and ritual purification was never complete unless the most dreaded sources of pollution, the demonic forces, were banished. Such uses of salt were for sweeping the house after a death had occurred there;[40] for sprinkling on the heads of sacrificial victims;[41] for the daily offering by burning of a part of the sacred salt-cake in the family circle.[42] Though the last of these may not seem so clearly purificatory as the others, its obvious purpose was to insure the welfare of the whole household, and this would involve release from the possible contamination of hostile unseen forces.

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valence of these rites in many cultures.

[36] Ovid, Fasti, IV, 739-40.

[37] *Ibid.*, *IV*, 721-862.

[38] Tibullus I, 5, 9-12.

[39] *Supra*, pp. 335 f.

[40] Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, (London, 1931), II, 279; Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 155 f.

[41] Fowler, *RERP*, p. 207.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 73; cf. *supra*, pp. 288 f. and sources. Leland, *Etruscan-Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, (London, 1892), pp. 122, 204, 242, 264, 281, 286 f., 312, 345, gives many modern magical practices in Italy which involve the use of salt for apotropaic and protective purposes.

5. Wool

Wool was another *februum* of recognized potency. Portions of the garb of the Vestals, of priests and priestesses, of the wife of the priest of Jupiter, and of a Roman emissary on an important mission to hostile tribes, were of woolen material. At the critical moment before a bride first entered her new home she wound the doorposts with fillets of wool as a safeguard against the attacks of hostile spirits.[43] The *oscilla* - little balls and images of human shape which were hung up at the crossroads for protection against invisible spirits - were likewise made of wool. Servius' comment that they were there for purposes of purification becomes perfectly clear in the light of the apotropaic character of purifying media.[44] Probably the motion of these objects as they swayed in the breezes added to their efficacy, but undoubtedly much of their expulsive value was inherent in the material itself.[45] In the *Lupercalia* ritual, fresh blood was smeared upon the brows of the *Luperci* with the sacrificial knife, and then wiped off with wool that had been dipped in milk.[46] Possibly a similar purpose was back of this act, since the whole rite is clearly one of aversion, and the magical power of wool was so thoroughly accepted.[47]

6. Blood

Blood has been recognized almost universally as an exceptionally potent object, its powers often including that of purification.[48] No doubt the secret of the efficacy of sacrifice was in the shedding of blood which it involved. Especially in rites of placation and eversion (and most Roman sacrifices involved these features) did the spirits crave the blood of the victims. Plutarch says that it was in reality the demons, in their greed for the blood of animals, who instituted animal sacrifices,[49] while Porphyry pictures even more vividly their insatiable thirst for blood.[50] If ordinary animal sacrifices placated the invisible powers and averted harm from men, a human sacrifice would be far more potent in warding off evil and inducing good for the individual or the group concerned. Probably the most striking example of this was the rare custom known as "devotio" in which a Roman general, in a grave military crisis, sacrificed his life to insure victory for his army. The impressive ceremony, which was performed under the official direction of the pontiff, involved the utterance of this potent formula,

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[43] Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 30; Servius, *On Virgil's Aeneid*, IV, 137; Livy, I, 32. 6; Fowler, *RERP*, p. 83 and sources.

[44] Fowler, *Rel. Exp.*, pp. 61 f., and n. 49, p. 67.

[45] Apotropaic significance may also be implied in the use of wool to veil his head by Tibullus, as he performed the magic rites for the recovery of Delia (Tib. I, 5, 15-17); cf. Burriss, *TMS*, p. 109.

[46] See Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, II, 327-41.

[47] Woolen thread seems to have had great efficacy in rites of magic; *See* Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 129 f. and sources.

> Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, New Gods, Native Gods, Gods who hold power over us and our enemies, Infernal Gods, I pray, I adore, I entreat and beseech your favor, that you grant strength, victory, and prosperity to the Roman people of the Quirites, and that you visit upon the enemies of the Roman people of the Quirites terror, fright, and death.[51]

So powerful was the efficacy of this sacrificial rite that, when the victim rode headlong against the enemy, thus "devoting" himself and them to death, they were panic-stricken and easily overwhelmed by the Romans. In some way, which perhaps we cannot describe, this solemn ceremony was considered invincible in bringing victory over one's foes, both human and demonic.[52]

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[48] Farnell, Evol. of Rel., pp. 120 ff. and nn.; Frazer, GB, index on "Blood."

[49] See Plutarch, On Iris and Osiris, XXV, Cessation of Oracles, XIV, XVII; Dill, RSNA, p. 432.

[50] Quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Ev., IV, 22 f.

[51] Livy, VIII, 9. See Fowler, RERP, pp. 207 f. and notes, for a description and criticism of the famous case of Decius, whose devotio brought an overwhelming victory for the Romans against the Latins. Cf. II Kings 3:26 f. for a similar instance of the efficacy of human sacrifice among Semitic peoples.

7. Animal Products

Animal products which had significance in purification ceremonies included the skins of goats, hogs' lard, and the fat of wolves. The use of strips of goatskins as girdles and lashes for the *Luperci* in their magical rite of driving out the spirits of barrenness and insuring the fertility of women has already been mentioned.[53] Wolf's fat and hogs' lard were both smeared on the doorposts of the house as prophylactics against demons at the inauguration of a new family.[54] Probably there was thought to be an inherent protective *mana* in all these objects, though part of the value of the goatskin was no doubt in the action of striking.

8. Vegetable Products

Branches of laurel were often used in purifying rites. On the first of March boughs of laurel were placed at the door of the flamens and the pontiffs, at the entrance of the court-house of the Salii, and in the temple of Vesta.[55] Sprigs adorned the sheepfolds at the festival of Pales, and others were dipped in water for ceremonially sprinkling those to be purified.[56] The soldiers who followed the general's car in a triumphal procession wore laurel wreaths as a prophylactic against the ghosts of their slain enemies and other forms of pollution involved in warfare.[57] Torches of laurel and pin were regarded as effective media of purification.[58] Branches from the wild fig tree were used as objects of purgation and expulsion of evil influences at the festival of the Nones of the Goat on July 7th.[59] The use of spelt with salt in an apotropaic sweeping rite has already been mentioned.[60] When Roman war-heralds went to a foreign territory, they were accompanied by a priest, known as the verbenarius, who carried with him potent herbs for purificatory and protective purposes.[61]

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[52] See Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 28-42, for an interesting discussion on the taboo associated with blood for the Romans. Such a presentation raises the question as to whether one reason may not have been the fact that the strong craving for blood by ghosts and other spirits made it too dangerous for humans to have unnecessary contacts with it. Further examples of the apotropaic use of blood are in the *Lupercalia* ceremony, and in the fertility charm at the *Parilia* festival when the blood of the October-horse was an ingredient; cf. *supra*, p. 337 and n. 37; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 21; *Caesar*, 61. It is probable that the idea of the "power in the blood" which has been so prevalent in Christian theology owes something (perhaps a great deal) to the stress on its efficacy against evil forces in the Graeco-Roman world.

[53] *Supra*, p. **291**; cf. Burriss, *TMS*, pp. 78-80 for the taboos on leather.

[54] Pliny, *NH*, XVI, XXVIII, 135; Varro, *RR*, II,10; Granger, *WR*, p. 144; Rose, *PCI*, pp. 74, 137-40; cf. Fowler, *RERP*, p. 83 and n. 48, p. 90.

[55] Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 137; Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 24;

It is an interesting question as to how far incense was used to keep off harmful influences. It was an important part of all the regular public rituals. Plautus tells us that it was offered daily to the Lar familiaris.[62] At the Palilia festival olive, pitchwood, laurel branches and Sabine herbs were used as incense for purification through fumigation.[63] By the time of Virgil, frankincense, myrrh, crocus and costum were also in use.[64]

Granger, WR, pp. 100 f.

[56] Burriss, TMS, pp. 147-49 with sources; For their use in ceremonial processions, see Fowler, RERP, p. 265 and notes.

[57] Festus, Laureati,(Mueller, p. 117); Burriss, TMS, pp. 39, 154 f.

[58] Nemesianus IV, 62; reference in Burris, TMS, p. 154; cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii, 27-28.

[59] Cf. supra, pp. 291 and n. 148.

[60] Supra, p. 313 and n. 240; for a variety of purificatory practices in the presence of death, with source materials, see Gray, Numbers, in ICC,(New York, 1903), p. 244.

[61] Servius, On Virgil's Aeneid, XII, 120; Pliny, NH, XXII,5.

[62] Plautus, Aul., prol. 23 f.; MacCulloch, "Incense,", ERE, VII, 204a and n. 16.

[63] Ovid, Fasti, IV, 741 f.; cf. I, 338 ff.; For the burning of laurel in a magical ceremony, see Virgil, Eclog., VIII, 82 f. and Theocritus, Id., II, 33.

[64] Virgil, Eclog. VIII, 65; cf. Ovid, Fasti, I, 339 ff.

Laurel, saffron and incense were burned as a preliminary to animal sacrifices, then as the animal was led up wine and incense were sprinkled on the altar.[65] Obviously the incense was a purifying agent; probably both in a physical and a "spiritual" sense. It was burned to cleanse the atmosphere of any impurities that could obstruct the efficacy of the rites being performed, and to win the favor and help of the deities to whom the offerings were made. Insofar as it was purgative in purpose it was also apotropaic. The burning process would add to its efficacy. Parallels to this use of incense for warding off demons which are found among many groups in ancient and modern times, add to the probable importance of this aspect of it.[66]

III. Unusual Public Rites

1. Ludi Saeculares

There were occasionally held striking and unusual public rites involving purgative and apotropaic features. The most unique of these was the great series of events included in the *Ludi saeculares* of Augustus in 17 B.C.[67] The word *saeculum* was used of a period or era of time, and the ceremonies were performed to put away and bury the old age and inaugurate a new and more glorious era. The use of such purifying media as torches, sulpher and bitumen by every free person in the city (citizens and non-citizens); the nature of the prayers; and the repeated sacrifices to the dark powers of the underworld and the malevolent fates are elements of a distinctly apotropaic character.

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[65] MacCulloch, *loc. cit.*

[66] For Palestine, see **MacCulloch, "Incense," ERE, VII.203**; cf. *supra*, pp. 215-17; Frazer (*GB*, II, 336; III, 102; IX, 158 f.) cites a number of practices followed by European tribes in modern times in which incense is used to ward off witches or demons or both, from people and livestock. See also MacCulloch, *loc. cit.*

[67] See Fowler, *RERP*, pp. 438-47 for a splendid description and interpretation of this celebration.

As Fowler says, "No doubt the idea was that the whole people were to be purified from all pollution of the past,"[68] much of which would certainly be from "spiritual" sources.

2. Games

There is considerable evidence that some of the rites associated with triumphal processions and other public spectacles, including gladiatorial combats, also had a protective character with regard to hostile spirit-powers.[69]

C. Amulets and Other Apotropaic Objects

These represent another large group of objects regarded as potent for protection against demonic influence. In some cases they connot be distinguished from *februa*. As a rule, however, there was required some magical action or incantation to give the *februum* its maximum efficacy, while this was not necessary for the amulet whose magical power was inherent in the object itself. Hence the efficacy of the *februum* was often temporary, that of the amulet permanent. The distinction sometimes made between the negative or apotropaic aspect of an amulet's operation and its positive or beneficent aspect needs no consideration here as the two were supplementary and interrelated.[70]

Among the many objects used as amulets we shall consider briefly the following: (1) stones, (2) metals, (3) plants, (4) animals, (5) parts of the human body, and (6) objects closely associated with deities that were endowed with great power over evil spirits.

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[68] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

[69] *Cf.* Fowler, *RF*, p. 216; Burriss, *TMS*, p. 154 f.; The papyri reveal the persistence of magical practices to insure victory in the games of the stadium. *See* Wessely, "Neue-griechishe Zauber-Papyri," lines 175, 398, 437 in *Denkschr. der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, XLII, (1893-94), and p. 16 f. for discussion.

[70] For a more thorough discussion of Amulets *see* "Charms

I. Stones

A number of stones were in common use for protective purposes, including Jasper, eagle-stone, amber and heliotrope. In some cases the same stone if worn in different ways would produce different results. Thus, "eagle-stone retarded birth and should be given to women, who desired this, to be tied around the left arm; if taken thence and bound onto the thigh, birth would be pangless."[71] King Nechepsos of Egypt prescribed the engraving of a snake with a wreath of stars to add to its efficacy, but Galen was convinced that the stones alone possessed sufficient potency. Though at first very skeptical he was won over to a firm faith in it, and had a special necklace made in the most effective form.[72] In the treatise "On Rivers and Mountains" Plutarch speaks of a number of stones that may be used to expel demons,[73] and Leemans has an interesting description of similar virtues of a heliotrope stone.[74] An amber bead was often worn as an amulet by a Roman boy.[75]

II. Metals

Certain metals were probably even more in demand as amulets than were stones. Iron, bronze, gold, silver and lead were among the most potent. The Priest of Jupiter slept with iron

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and Amulets (Greek)," by Deubner, *ERE*, III, 433-39; *Ibid.*"(Roman)" by Wunsch, pp. 461-65 and ample source materials there cited.

[71] Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners*, (New York, 1908-13), I, 184; for a variety of magical uses of stones, rings, nails, discs, etc., in antiquity, *see* Wünsch, *Antike Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*; *Jahrb. d. Kais. deut. Arch. Inst.*, (Berlin, 1905), pp. 39-45.

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] Chaps. 16, 18, 24; cf. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, (New York, 1923), I, 216 and n. 6; cf. p. 215 for critical discussion on the authorship of this treatise, which some deny to Plutarch. This, if true, does not harm its testimony to such practices of the time.

[74] Leemans, Papyrus V; Col. 9a, pp. 31 f. in *Pap. Gr. Mus. Ant-Pub. Lugd. Bat.*, Vol. II, (Leyden, 1885); *see* also Pliny, *NH*, XXVIII, 60; Blau, *DAZ*, p. 160 and n. 3.

[75] Pliny, *NH*, XXXVII, 50; Wünsch, "Charms and Amulets (Roman)," *ERE*, III, 464a.

under his pillow to ward off evil influences.[76] According to Cato, the tossing of iron around in the air over a fractured bone was beneficial to the healing process.[77] Presumably it kept at a distance any hindering powers. An old tradition says that a bronze shield which fell at the feet of Numa and was hung up in the temple of Mars was efficacious in warding off pestilence from the city.[78] We are familiar with the beating of the shields by the priests of Mars to expel hostile influences.[79] A child's rattle, known as a crepundia, was much more than a toy; it also served "to protect him from demonic influence, as it was supposed that evil spirits were afraid of the jingling of metals, especially bronze."[80] The gold bulla, which was worn suspended around the child's neck until he reached the age of adolescence, was regarded as a charm of unusual potency. If gold could not be obtained some other metal might be substituted. Usually the power of the amulet was increased by enclosing a fascinum within the case.[81] This was often, though not always, a phallic symbol and might be of various materials. A similar object was used by generals in triumphal processions to ward off evil influences of the envious eye that might so easily be cast upon them.[82]

III. Plants

In addition to the plants used as februa[83] there were a number of others commonly employed to avert evil powers.[84] Pliny tells of several, including *gramen*, an effective amulet against headache; and the leaves of ground-olive, gathered before sunrise, as a cure for eye diseases.[85] Children were protected against the attacks of *strigae* (vampires) by garlic wrapped up in the swaddling clothes, and hawthorne planted in the windows.[86] Strawberry plants were placed where they could touch the threshold and the doorposts to keep away witches and *strigae*.[87] Buckthorn and pitch were both regarded as powerful amulets for warding off or expelling evil epirits, hence they were used extensively by Greeks and Romans alike.[88] In some instances the efficacy of herbs was increased by the recital of certain names and formulae by the person who was digging them.[89] It is significant of the prevalence of these attitudes that the author of the Apocalypse of John thinks of the leaves of the tree of life as powerful "for the healing of the nations."[90]

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[76] Granger, WR, p. 164; Blau, op. cit., pp. 158-65, has a good summary of amulets, including metals.

[77] Cato, De Agricultura, CLX; quoted in Burriss, TMS, pp. 115 f.; see also Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 260, and Wunsch, ERE, III, 464a.

[78] Granger, WR, p. 122.

[79] Supra, pp. 327 f.

[80] Wünsch, ERE, III, 462b; cf. A.B.Cook, JHS, XXII, (1902), pp. 14 ff.

[81] Plautus, Miles, pp. 1398 f.; Wünsch, ERE, III, 462b; Fowler, RERP, pp. 60 f. and nn. 41, 42, p. 66 with sources.

[82] Fowler, RERP, pp. 60 f.

[83] Cf. supra, pp. 340-42.

[84] Wünsch, loc. cit., p. 463b; Reiss, "Amulett," Pauly-Wis-

IV. Parts of Animals

Portions of the bodies of animals were frequently considered potent against sinister spirits. Such uses of wolf's fat, goatskins, and hog's lard have been discussed.[91] Pliny's Natural History - a veritable mine of information on popular customs - mentions the right canine tooth of the wolf as a power-

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sowa, *Real-Encyclopadie*, Vol. I, cols. 1984-89.

[85] Pliny, *NH*, XXIV, 82, 118.

[86] Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 129 ff., 165; Friedlander, *RLM*, I, 228.

[87] *Ibid.* VI, 155.

[88] Petronius, *Satiricon*, chap. 135; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 36 and n. 2; Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 39; MacCulloch, "Incense," *ERE*, VII, 202a and n. 11.

[89] Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," *JQR*, IX, (1896), p. 94; Cf. the procedure necessary in securing the root of Baaras, in Josephus, *Wars*, **VII, 6.3,** and **see** *supra*, p. **210.**

[90] Rev. 22:2.

[91] *Supra*, pp. 289 f.

ful protective amulet.[92] The same work says, "Periodical and recurrent fevers are cured, if we are to believe what the magicians tell us, by wearing the right eye of a wolf, salted, and attached as an amulet."[93] The muzzles of wolves were often nailed upon the gates of country houses as charms against witches.[94] There is an interesting parallel to the Tobit exorcism story in a Macedonian charm. A possessed person was to wear the glands from the mouth of a fish, be fumigated with them, "and the demon will free from him."[95] In some cases a green lizard was worn as the object in the bulla to protect the Roman child.[96] Apotropaic significance was also attributed to the spider, the bat, the gall of the dog and the testicles of the ass, when used in the proper manner.[97]

V. Parts of the Human Body

Some parts of the human body, or representations thereof, and some of its secretions had great magical potency. The skull was considered efficacious against the evil eye, and skeleton-like figures had powerful talismanic value.[98] The eye tooth of a corpse was highly esteemed as an amulet,[99] while the hair of a crucified man was used as a cure for quartan fevers.[100] The blood of gladiators was considered very potent, and saliva was widely used for its curative powers.[101] Lucian tells of the current belief of his time that fevers and various ailments were cured by a statue.[102] The phallus, however, was regarded as the most potent portion of the human body for apotropaic purposes, if we may judge from its widespread use. Pliny says that representations of it were placed in gardens and on hearths as a protection against the eye of the envious.[103] Blacksmiths put up similar figures before their forges with the same end in view.[104] Apparently the phallus was the object used most frequently in the child's bulla, a practice still prevalent among the peasants of Italy who carry coral models of it about their necks to ward off the evil eye.[105] The hand was considered potent to heal or to inflict diseases.[106]

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[92] Pliny, NH, XI, 63.
[93] Ibid., XXVIII, 66; Bohn Library trans., V, 354 f.
[94] Granger, WR, p. 169.
[95] Thompson, Semitic Magic, (London, 1908), p. LVII; cf. G. F. Abbott, Macedonian Folklore (Cambridge, 1903), p. 232.
[96] Burriss, TMS, p. 58; Frazer, The Fasti of Ovid, III, 139. Tradition says that Pisistratus hung up the figure of a certain kind of grasshopper before the Acropolis at Athens as a protection against "fascination", Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, p. 1694a.
[97] Article "Amuletum," Harpers Dict., p. 75b.
[98] Seligmann, Der bose Blick, (Berlin, 1910), II, 141; Elworthy, The Evil Eye, (London, 1895), p. 340; Montgomery, AITN, p. 257; Robertson Smith calls attention to the use of the dried human head as an amulet by the pagan Syrians (RS, p. 362.).
[99] See n. 92.
[100] Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 9.

VI. Objects Associated with Deity

Objects intimately associated with deities or representative of them were often prized for their power to avert baneful influences. This is quite natural in their thought-world, as it was ultimately to some superhuman power that they must look for guarantees of safety, and objects closely bound up with the gods should be charged most potently with protective *mana*. Sulla is said to have carried with him as a charm a miniature golden image of Apollo, brought from Delphi.[107] Many instances are on record of healings and exorcisms performed by images of Egyptian deities.[108] Isis, Horus and Thoth were especially famous for their exorcisms.[109] Similar powers were ascribed to the symbols of the gods, such as the trident of Neptune, the *Kerykeion* of Mercury, the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the club of Hercules, the lyre of Apollo, the bow of Artemis and the tongs of Vulcan, all of which were often used to banish evil powers and bring good fortune.[110] An inscription from the Asklepieion on the Tiber Island at Rome tells of the restoration of sight to the blind through touching the altar of Asklepios.[111]

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[101] Tacitus, *History*, IV, 81; cf. Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 7. We recall also Jesus' use of saliva in healing, Mark 8:22-26; cf. Wunsch, *ERE*, III, 464a.

[102] Lucian, Philopseudes, Chaps. 19, 20; Harmon's trans. in *LCL*, III, 349 ff.

[103] Pliny, *NH*, XIX, 50.

[104] Pollux, VIII, 118; "Malus Oculus," *Harper's Dict.*, Appendix, p. 1694a.

[105] *Harper's Dict.*, p. 1223b. For further uses of amulets for children, especially against the evil eye, see H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer*, pp. 305 f., with illustrations and sources.

[106] See especially Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, (Giessen, 1909), for a collection of such cures; cf. Wünsch, *ERE*, III, 463 f. for other details and sources.

So urgent was the need for protection from the ubiquitous demonic forces, and so effective were various forms of amulets, that they were used on animals and even on inanimate objects such as gates, houses, gardens, the city, and tombs. Excavations, inscriptions, papyri, and current customs today among the Italian peasants bear a united testimony to the widespread use of, and profound faith in, these potent media for protecting the individual, the family, the city, and the whole social order from the evil spirit-influences that infested all life.[112] They were worn through life and retained in death as a safeguard against the unknown terrors of the future.[113]

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[107] Plutarch, *Sulla*, XXIX.

[108] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, (London, 1899), pp. 207-13; Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, (New York, 1908), pp. 263, 312; Jayne, *HGAC*, pp. 55, 57, 69 f.

[109] Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1901), Chap. CXXXVIIA, secs. 13-14, p. 224; Jayne, *HGAC*, pp. 66 f., 81.

[110] Wunsch, *ERE*, III, 464 for sources, especially inscriptions and excavations.

[111] *CIG*, 5980; *IG*, XIV, 966; quoted in part in Weinreich, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 f. and notes.

[112] Wunsch, *ERE*, III, 464b; Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Papyri*, 15 vols. (London, 1898-1922), No. 1151, VIII, 251-253; Paris MS 2316, in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 291-303 with sources; Fowler, "Children (Roman)," *ERE*, III, 545 f.; Budge, *Book of the Dead*, chaps. 13, 19, 30b, 89, 100, 125, 130, 133-34, 136a, 137a, 140, 144, 156, 159, 162-166.

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[113] Wunsch, ERE, III, 464b.

CHAPTER IX

ROMAN EXORCISM: IN IMPORTED CULTS

A. Introduction: Imported Cults in Roman Life

We have just considered the practices of aversion and expulsion which were performed or sanctioned by the official Roman religion. Most of these practices were indigenous to the old Roman faith or became amalgamated so early as to be practically such. In some cases it has been impossible to separate the older Roman threads of custom from those woven into the fabric of general observance by foreign hands. By the first century of our era, Roman society had become so permeated with Greek and Oriental influences in every aspect of its life, that foreign methods of insuring safety against hostile spiritual forces assumed increased significance.

For several centuries a number of Oriental cults had been filtering into the West, along with the worship of the Olympian deities and the Greek hero gods. As early as 293 B.C. during a raging pestilence, the cult of Asklepios had been adopted officially at Rome and a temple built on the island in the Tiber.[1] In 204 B.C. the black stone of the Magna Mater was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia and her rites established as a means of securing victory in the Hannibalic crisis.[2] In the intervening years a host of Graeco-Oriental cults, particularly the Mystery Religions, were transplanted in Rome and other western centers where they flourished.[3] In this cosmopolitan, syncretistic age, these cults performed a significant service in meeting the physical, social and spiritual needs of perplexed people.

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[1] Livy, X, 47.7; Ovid, Metam, XV, 622-745; cf. Fowler, RERP, p. 260.

[2] Livy, XXIX, 10 ff.; Fowler, RERP, p. 330; RF., pp.69 ff.

In spite of vigorous attempts at readjustment to new conditions in the religious revival of Augustus and the increased prestige which the old Roman faith came to enjoy in the years that followed, the official religion proved inadequate to meet the needs of the new age. It had developed as the cult of a rural people with the rites and observances suitable to the home and the farm. The needs of the group, from the family at the one end to the state at the other, had been uppermost. The individual, as an individual, had very little if any consideration. Now Rome was a great city at the heart of a mighty empire embracing the complex racial and cultural life of the whole Mediterranean world. The old group solidarity of earlier rural and family life was broken up. The individual must stand or fall on the basis of his own merits. Here was a fundamental element in the appeal of the newer cults. They were designed to meet the needs of the individual and give him supernatural guarantees in facing his personal problems, and here they proved their decided superiority over the native Roman cult. Even the new state cult of the emperor, which had enlisted strong popular loyalty and instilled a deeper meaning into patriotism, was powerless to deal with the intensely personal needs of the time. It gave a greater measure of political and social security for society as a whole but had no religious assurances to offer the individual. Under Nero and his immediate successors even these public benefits were lacking.[4]

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[3] On the mystery cults see Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity, (New York, 1925); also The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, (New York, 1929); Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity, (Chicago, 1914), pp. 195-330; Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, (Chicago, 1911); also Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans, (New York, 1912); Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, (2nd ed., London, 1905), pp. 443-626; Glover, The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire, (2nd ed., London, 1909); Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen, (3 Aufl., Leipzig, 1927); Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, (Chicago, 1929), and sources there cited.

Among the most highly prized benefits which the Graeco-Oriental cults guaranteed their devotees was the assurance of victory over all demonic forces that tormented and oppressed them. This ministry of release from evil spirits may be considered under two general categories, (1) general healing activities, and (2) exorcism proper. This distinction which was familiar to the gospel writers,[5] was made partially on the basis of the severity of the case, and partially for the reason that the first was purely or chiefly physical while the second often involved mental derangement. Moreover, the latter included a wider range of experiences than physical well-being.

B. Religious Healing

I. Healing Gods

The healing of bodily ills was a well-recognised function of religion in the first century. This was considered an essential element in the well-rounded ministry of a religion to its devotees. Many of the deities of the Olympian cult had become famous as healers, as had some of the hero gods and those of the mysteries.[6] By the imperial age the temples and healing shrines of these cults were desseminated widely throughout the Mediterranean world. Among the most noted of these healing deities may be cited: Apollo, who was early regarded as the sender and averter of pestilences and later considered to be the founder of the medical art, the supervision of which he entrusted to his son Asklepios; Herakles, "born to avert the curse from gods and men," and widely recognized for his therapeutic powers; Dionysos, who presided over dream-oracles at various sanctuaries; Hades-Pluto, who healed at the famous Plutonion near Nysa on the Meander, and other subterranean shrines; the famous pair Isis and Serapis whose shrines dotted the Roman world; Amphiaraos, whose well-known shrine at Oropus brought suppliants from afar; the Magna Mater, whose images and other sacred symbols healed so many at Rome; and greatest of all, Asklepios, the master physician of pagan antiquity, universally known and revered for his beneficient healing ministry to the human race.

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[4] For the prevalence and significance of emperor worship, see Case, Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 195-238 with sources cited.

[5] Cf. supra, p. 6.

Not all healing in the first century was under the aegis of religion. There were two chief schools of physicians that used natural methods. One followed the traditional procedure, already in vogue for centuries, of using those animal and vegetable products, stones, etc., which the ancients had regarded as efficacious. This involved many practices which to us seem in the realm of pure magic, but to Pliny they appeared far superior to the other type coming into vogue. This second method was called hypothetical, because its advocates tried to reason out specific causes for each malady and discover appropriate forms of treatment. Asclepiades, a leader of this second type, built his system of treatment on five basic principles: (1) diet, (2) use or non-use of wine, (3) friction, (4) exercise on foot, (5) exercise in a carriage or on horseback.[7] Both these methods had their following, in addition to the practice of surgery which attained some significant successes.[8]

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[6] See Jayne, The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations, for an extended discussion of this theme. Shorter accounts are given by Case, "The Art of Healing in Early Christian Times," Journal of Religion, III, (1923), pp. 238-55; Thraemer, "Health and Gods of Healing (Greek)," ERE, VI, 540-53. Ibid." (Roman),", pp. 553-56.

For most people, however, the cause of disease was supernatural, hence they must look to religion to guarantee cures through its alliance with greater supernatural powers. Usually demons were considered to be the cause of both physical and mental diseases, though in some cases they were merely the agents of a deity who had sent the disease as punishment for sin.[9] Hence the primary activity must be in the spirit realm. This basic dependence of the ancients upon divine power for healing is clearly revealed in the situation at Rome when Asklepios was brought in to stop the ravages of a deadly pestilence. Ovid pictures their plight thus, "Weary with caring for the dead, men saw that their human efforts were as nothing, and that the healer's arts were of no avail, they sought the aid of heaven."[10] The marvelous response of Asklepios fully vindicated their faith.

Of the specific means to mediate the power of the gods to distressed humanity, the following were frequently employed: (1) dream-oracles, (2) the touch of the healer, (3) the use of miscellaneous supplementary aids.

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[7] Cited in Case, loc. cit., pp. 245-47.

[8] See Milna, Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times, (Oxford, 1907); Elliott, Outlines of Greek and Roman Medicine, (New York, 1914); Taylor, Greek Biology and Medicine, (Boston, 1923).

[9] Cf. Plutarch, On Superstition, quoted supra, p. 301; Exod. 15:26; Mark 2:5-12; John 5:14; II Chron. 12:7; Philo, Curses, V.

[10] Ovid, Metam, XV, 622 ff.; cf. Livy, X. 47.7.

II. Dream-Oracles

A favorite method was known as incubation. This involved sleeping, or at least spending the night, in the healing shrine. When the soul in sleep was released from the ordinary limitations of the body it was thought to be particularly receptive to divine ministrations or revelations.[11] While the patient was asleep the deity often visited him and healed him of his disease. In other cases he sent an oracle which gave directions for further steps to be taken for recovery. As a rule a priest or other temple assistant would interpret the oracle and supervise its observance. Often the period of incubation would be preceded by preparatory rites of purification and offerings to the deity. After the cure was completed the one healed was required to pay a fee, non-payment sometimes being punished by a recurrence of the disease. The amount of the fee varied greatly, according to the means of the patient. Phalysius of Naupactus gave 2000 gold staters on being healed of blindness,[12] while a boy who offered the god ten dice was cured free of charge.[13]

The practice of incubation was widespread in the first century, both geographically and in its use by many cults. At Byzantium was a healing temple of the Dioscouroi where incubation combined with the interpretation of dreams was regularly practiced.[14] There was a shrine of Dionysos at Amphikleia where many were healed by the same methods.[15] In the Plutonion near Nysa in Asia Minor the priests often incubated for the sick in the vapor-filled cave, receiving the divine oracles in their ecstatic trance, which they later interpreted. In many other instances the patients themselves slept in the cave, sometimes spending a few days there without food as a more adequate preparation for the reception of the divine message of healing.[16] Higher up the Meander valley, near Hierapolis, was another Plutonion where even more potent exhalations issued forth, and all incubating must be done by the experienced temple attendants. The existence of other similar shrines that operated on the same general lines has been revealed by inscriptions.[17]

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[11] Cf. the familiar Jewish idea of revelations through dreams, e.g., Gen. 28:12 ff.; 37:5 ff.; 41:1-36; I Kings 3:5-15; Job 33:15; For the prevalence of such practices in the Graeco-Roman world see Artemidorus, Oneirocritica; Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, 4 vols.(New York, 1908-13), III, 136-44; Mary Hamilton, Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches,(London, 1906); Stafford, The Function of Divine Manifestations in New Testament Times,(Manasha,Wis.,1919), pp. 24-33; Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder,(Giessen, 1909), pp. 77 ff., 110 ff., 117 ff., 136.

[12] Pausanias, X. 38. 7.

[13] Stele of Epidaurus, I, 68-71; cited by L.H.Gray, "Incubation," ERE, VII, 207.

Long before the imperial period the healing shrine of Amphiaraos at Oropus was famous for its cures wrought through dream-oracles. Here the patient was required to fast "in order to receive the oracle with a clear soul", to sacrifice a ram, and to sleep on the skin of the slain animal. By the first century B.C., Hygeia was associated with the deity of this shrine as a patroness of the healing art and in imperial times at least one subsidiary temple was established to care for the growing needs of the cult.[18] The cult of the allied healing deities, Isis and Serapis carried the practices of the dream-oracle throughout practically the whole Roman world. They were the favorite healing deities of many people, and the most prominent rivals of Asklepios.[19] Isis had a world-wide fame as a discoverer of many potent medicines and a healer of humanity, who had been exalted to divine status as a reward for her great ministry of mercy. From her exalted position she continued to heal all who called upon her for aid, having even raised the dead to life. In the words of an ancient witness:

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[14] FHG, IV, 149. 15; cited by Gray, loc. cit.
[15] Thraemer, loc. cit., p. 548
[16] Strabo, p. 649; Thraemer, p. 549.
[17] Thraemer, ERE, VI, 549, with sources.
[18] Ibid. pp. 549 ff.
[19] Artemidorus, II. 44.

> ...now when she is advanced to an immortal state, she takes pleasure in curing men's bodies; and to those that desire her assistance, in their sleep she clearly manifests her presence, and affords ready and effectual relief to them that stand in need of it....almost the whole world bears testimony to this, by the respect and honour they pay this goddess upon the account of her great fame in curing of disease: for in sleep she is present with persons, and applies remedies to the sick, and wonderfully cures those that are her votaries.... many that have been given up by the physicians as incurable, have been restored by her;... many that have been blind and lame, who have sought to her for help, have been perfectly restored to their former sight and soundness of body.[20]

Serapis, who became associated with Isis, and from whom apparently the practice of incubation was adopted, became so famous as a healing god that he was often called Aesculapius by the Romans.[21]

But the healer *par excellence* of the Graeco-Roman world was Asklepios, formerly a mortal who had been raised to a position of divinity because of his outstanding benefactions to mankind. Adopted at Athens through the activity of Sophocles; and at Rome early in the third century B.C., his cult was universal in early imperial times.[22] He was affectionately called "the one who leads and controls all things, the savior of the whole world, and guardian of mortals." In an inscription of the second century A.D., an ardent devotee thus addresses Asklepios in prayer. "Thou alone, O divine and blessed one, art mighty; thee, that lovest compassion, the Supreme Gods have granted as a mighty boon to mortals, as a refuge from their sorrows."[23]

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[20] Diodorus Sic., Bk. I, Chap. II, trans. by Booth (1814), pp. 31 f.

[21] Tacitus, *History*, IV, 84.

[22] For a detailed statement of its geographical extent see Alice Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios*, (Cornell Univ. Library, Ithaca, 1894), Special Index, pp. 95-121. This little volume gives a splendid account also of the work of the cult.

At Epidauros, about fifteen miles from Athens, was located the central and most famous Asklepieion. Situated in an ideal spot, with all the advantages of sunshine, flowing water, pure air and the beauties of nature, it was amply endowed with the physical and psychological qualities essential to a perfect healing shrine. The requirements of purity, both ritual and moral, demanded of all who sought the help of the god, were very high. Incubation was a standard method widely used both here and at other shrines of Asklepios, a notable feature being the frequent cases of fulfilment of dreams of recovery by the time the patient awoke.

Cures of practically all kinds are recorded on the tablets and stelae set up within the temple area as expressions of gratitude by recipients of the god's favor. Fevers, lameness, blindness, wounds, ulcers, paralysis and many other sorts of maladies were all mastered by this divine healer. The records even speak of his having raised the dead.[24] Nor were his ministrations limited to one class of people. Rich and poor alike were healed - the blind soldier, the sick slave, the boy without a copper; as freely as the man of wealth or the city that needed release from a deadly pestilence.[25]

The Asklepieion at Rome was built along the same lines as that of Epidauros and its activities were similar. Inscriptions from the Tiber island bear ample testimony to the effectiveness of this shrine in restoring suffering humanity to health.[26] On the basis of these inscriptions, Weinreich has concluded that this particular temple of Asklepios was patronized chiefly by soldiers, slaves and others of the lower social strata.[27] At least they show clearly that this deity's concern for the less favored groups was genuine and far-reaching.

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[23] CIA. III, 171; quoted in Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality, (Oxford,1921), p. 277.

[24] Pausanias, II, 27.3 f.

[25] CIG, No. 5980. pp. 15 ff.; Suetonius, Claudius, XXV.

Apollo, the reputed father of Asklepios, and the famous averter of pestilence and other ills, was famous as a healer, both independently and associated with Asklepios. He was officially recognized in Horace's "Secular Hymn" as a deity able to ward off sickness from the individual and to protect the whole of society against deadly plagues.[28]

Other lesser healing deities came to be associated more or less directly with Asklepios, in some cases linking his name with theirs for the sake of its increased prestige and power. Thus Eshmun, a Phoenician deity, became known as Eshmun-Asklepios in Sardinia. Here an overseer of the salt mines, named Cleon, who had been cured, set up a bronze altar in fulfilment of his vow.[29] In Egypt a mother had been cured of an "ungodly quartan ague which had seized her," and her son of a pain in his right side, through visions received from the healing deity

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[26] Hamilton, Incubation, pp. 67 f. gives typical examples; cf. pp. 8-79 of this work for a valuable discussion on healing by incubation in the cult of Asklepios. Cf. Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 108-116, 129 ff.

[27] Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 115 f. and sources; cf. p. 113, n. 2, and pp. 129 ff. with sources that show a stronger interest in the more cultured groups at other local shrines.

[28] Pausanias, X. 33. 5; cf. Case, ESECT, pp. 239, 242.

[29] Turin MS, CIG, I. 143 (2nd century B.C.); in G.A.Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, (Oxford, 1903), (No.40), p. 109.

Imouthes-Asclepius.[30] So powerful was the god that he could heal at a distance those too ill to come in person to his shrine if they sent their petitions by friends. Even Origen seems unable to deny or disprove the fact of Asklepios' cures; but he stoutly refuses to admit his divinity on the ground that he lacks the necessary moral purity for that high status.[31]

III. Healing by Touch

In many of the cases where incubation was used in the healing process, it was by no means the only method involved. It often gave the "prescription" which was interpreted by the temple priests or attendants in accordance with their knowledge of the symptoms of the case and then followed in the cure. Apparently the development was away from direct healing in dreams, and toward more natural and scientific methods which were revealed in sleep and carried out in the days that followed.[32] One of these means often employed was the human touch. For many people in antiquity the hand was considered a potent agency for the mediation of divine power. Our information regarding the details of such healing is often very meager. We have inscriptions dating from the first century, from the Asklepieion at Rome, which tell of healings by the hand of Asklepios.[33] But we cannot be sure just how they were performed. In some the god seemed to appear to the patient while asleep and administer healing by touching the affected part. In some there was a regimen of massaging, accompanied by rest, bathing, selected diet, etc. How far some of their procedure paralleled modern osteopathy and chiropractic is uncertain, but at least a nucleus of such treatments must have been followed at times.

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[30] Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyr. Papyri, Vols. 1-15, (London, 1898-1922), No. 1381 (early 2nd century), XL, 230.

[31] Origen, Cels., III, 25; ANCL., XXIII, 105.

[32] Weinreich, pp. 110 ff.; Walton, op. cit., p. 67.

[33] Weinreich, p. 30; cf. Walton, op. cit., pp. 57-67.

The touching of the affected part of the body was probably accompanied by the recital of a prayer or other form of ritual to increase the potency of the act. It is told of Apollonius of Tyana that while in Rome, he restored to life a girl who had died at the hour appointed for her wedding. On meeting the funeral procession he asked that the bier be set down and inquired the maiden's name. Then, to the great amazement of the crowd,

> merely touching her and whispering in secret some spell over her, he awakened her immediately from her seeming death. The girl spoke out loud and returned to her father's house just as Alcestis did when she was brought back to life by Hercules.[34]

In some cases the healer used some kind of ointment to assist in his cure. Shortly after Vespasian became emperor a blind man entreated him to restore his sight. The emperor anointed the blind eyes with saliva and the man saw perfectly.[35] Tradition said that Thoth had likewise spat upon Horus' eye when it was torn out in battle and healed it.[36] According to an inscription, a blind soldier named Aper applied to Asklepios for aid. He was told to mix blood of a white cock with honey into an ointment and rub it on his eyes. His sight was restored and he expressed publicly his gratitude to the God.[37]

Persons were sometimes said to exert healing power through the touch of the foot. Thus Plutarch tells us that Pyrrhus, the famous general, was able to cure affections of the spleen by the gentle pressure of his right foot against that organ as the patients lay on their backs. This he often did, using his curative power as freely for the poor as for the more prominent people.[38] Vespasian too was reported to have touched with his foot the paralyzed hand of a man who sought to be healed. The hand was restored whole as was that of the man whom Jesus healed in the gospel records.[39] A man with a paralyzed hand went to the temple of Asklepios. As he read the accounts of those who had been healed he was very skeptical about them. But as he slept in the temple he had a dream in which he was playing astragals near the shrine. As he played the god came and jumped on his hand, restoring it to health.[40] Many of these accounts take us into the very atmosphere of the gospels where Jesus' wonderful power of touch, sometimes accompanied by words or other actions, brings healing to the afflicted and restoration of the dead to life. Even his garments were charged with curative power to heal those touching them.[41] Demeter on her first arrival at her famous cult center at Eleusis performed healings and restored the dead to life. The latter was the case of the boy Triptolemus, whom she revived by touching her mouth to his.[42]

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[34] Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, IV, 15.

[35] Tacitus, History, IV, 81.

[36] Breasted, The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, (New York, 1912), pp. 29-31; cf. Jayne, op. cit., p. 61.

[37] CIG, No. 5980, pp. 15 ff.; quoted in Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, (New York, 1910), p. 132.

IV. Miscellaneous Methods

Any attempt at too rigid classification of healing methods in religious cults is unsatisfactory because of the common practice of combining several features in a single cure, some examples of which have been noted. Pindar tells us that Asklepios learned from his teacher, Cheiron, the practices of surgery, internal medicine and incantations.[43] At Epidauros and other Asklepieia both drugs and surgery continued to have a part in the treatment of many cases.[44] Often dogs and serpents licked the sores of people suffering from certain ailments. The serpent was especially sacred to Asklepios, a certain type of harmless yellow reptile being kept in great numbers. They had their special living quarters where they were most generously fed and held in great reverence. The serpent was the representative of the god himself. No doubt many patients felt that the touch of the serpent was the touch of Asklepios himself, hence their tremendous therapeutic value. When the cult was taken to Rome it was one of the sacred serpents that was carried there as the deity. When the vessel carrying it reached a point near the Tiber island the snake was released. It immediately swam to shore, the place where it first touched land being chosen as the site of the new temple.[45] Through the history of this cult the serpent played a prominent part; the insignia representing two of them twined around a staff, which was a cult symbol, having persisted in the medical world into our own time.

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[38] Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, chap. III.

[39] Tacitus, History, IV, 81; cf. Mark 3:1-6; Matt. 12:9-14; Luke 6:6-11.

[40] Cf. Case, Journal of Religion, III, 248.

[41] Matt. 9:20-22; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48.

[42] Ovid, Fasti, IV, 537 ff.

Rest, various forms of recreation, bathing, and a cheerful psychological atmosphere amid pleasant surroundings all contributed their share to the healing of many ailments. While this varied regimen was most characteristic of the shrines of Asklepios it was by no means limited to them. Other cults adopted many of them, according to local conditions. If there were warm or mineral springs available these would be utilized as at the shrines of Herakles and those of the nymphs.[46] Sometimes an image of the deity cured the sick, as in the case of the Mother of the Gods in Rome, whose talismans of the phallus carved from pomegranate root were of great efficacy.[47]

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[43] Pindar, Pyth., III, 45.
[44] Walton, op. cit., pp. 60-62.
[45] Livy, X. 47. 7.

In all these cases of religious healing it was the divine power that brought restoration to health, whatever the method or agency by which it might be mediated. Even in those procedures which we should consider wholly natural, the mind of the ancient saw the divine power of particular deities operating to conquer the destructive forces of evil and bring blessings to needy humanity. Hence, regardless of the lack of certain familiar demonic terminology, these experiences also represented the victory of the supreme forces of good over the legions of evil in man's struggle for a more satisfying life.

C. Exorcism Proper

These Graeco-Oriental Cults also guaranteed their devotees the power to overcome demons in other realms of experience than physical well-being. Four of the methods by which this conquest was achieved will be considered here: (1) the use of divine names, (2) the use of other symbols of deity, (3) the practice of piety, and (4) union with the deity.[48]

I. Use of Divine Names

In antiquity a name was far more than a mere word or convenient symbol by which to designate an individual. It was an entity, or sort of hypostasis of the person, characterized by the same basic attributes as he. In fact it was, for all practical purposes, the equivalent of the person. A person with a new name was in a very real sense a new being. Since name was practically synonymous with personality, one who had the knowledge of a name had a degree of power over the individual. This power might be used for good or ill according to the will of the one using it.[49]

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[46] See Thraemer, ERE, VI, 548 for details and sources.
[47] Jayne, op. cit., p. 486 and n. 260.
[48] Only methods which are especially characteristic of these cults are given attention here, the attempt being to avoid duplication of the materials in the sections which precede and follow.

Prayers in the name of the deity which asked for his blessing are to be found in great abundance in the extant records. The following petition of Hermes is typical.

> I adjure thee, O Light, holy ray, breadth - depth - length - height ray, by the holy names which I have uttered, and am now about to speak...abide with me in this hour, until I have besought thy God, and learnt about things that I desire![50]

In some cases we find the invocation of a number of different names to insure greater certainty of securing the desired benefits.

According to a Hermetic writer, God himself used hidden words of power in the course of the creative process.[51] Ancient authorities record the custom of the Persian kings of swearing their mighty oaths in the powerful name of Mithra, and invoking his aid on the eve of great undertakings.[52] So mighty were the names of some of the great deities that they must not be uttered idly for fear of disastrous consequences. A papyrus, in picturing the power of a great god who is identified with the sun, Aphrodite, Kronos, Osiris, Isis, et al., has this characteristic statement, "I am the god whom no one sees, nor names rashly."[53] In another passage the author solemnly pledges himself to guard as a sacred trust "the knowledge of the greatest name" revealing it to no one but those who like himself have been initiated into the secret cult of mysteries.[54] It was too valuable a possession and too dangerous a potency to be known and used indiscriminately.

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[49] For a thorough discussion of the power of the name in antiquity, see Heitmuller, Im Namen Jesu, (Gottingen, 1903); Pfleiderer, The Early Christian Conception of Christ, (London, 1905), pp. 112-17.

[50] Hermes' prayer, VI, 2; Greek text in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 26; Eng. trans. from Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, (London, 1906), I, 94.

[51] Hermetic Virgin of the World, preserved in Stobaeus, Phys. XLI, 44; cited in Mead, op. cit., III, 98 ff. cf. p. 102.

[52] Plutarch, Alex. 30; Art. 4; Xenophon, Cyrop. 7:5, 53;

It was natural and inevitable, with the prevailing supernaturalistic psychology, that the potent names of great deities should be invoked as a most powerful weapon against hostile spirits. There is ample evidence of the frequency of such practices, but the number of exact formulae that have come down to us is comparatively small. One reason for this is the strict secrecy observed in such matters in the Mystery Religions. Another is the fact that in later times the Christians made determined attempts to destroy such pagan materials. What we have often represents an amalgamation of materials from several sources as used by free-lance exorcists. Thus for the most part we have the forms of the divine names which were common property, rather than the secret names of unusual potency which were not revealed to the uninitiated.

For many centuries in Egypt the names of the great gods had been endowed with tremendous efficacy against all demonic powers. This thought recurs repeatedly in the *Book of the Dead*, of which the following is a typical example.

Oecon. 4:24; cited in Willoughby, "The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religions," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1924), p. 138.

[53] Leemans, Pap. v, col. 7a, line 19; p. 27 in *Pap. Gr. Mus. Ant. Lugd.-Bat.*; for the power of some Egyptian deities' names see Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*, p. 238 and sources; Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1901), almost throughout.

[54] μηδενὶ μεταδιδοὺς εἰ μὴ τοῖς σοῖς συνμύσταις εἰς τὰς σὰς ἱερὰς τελετάς. Pap. Leid. V, III, 19; Dieterich, *Jahrb. f. Phil. Suppl.* XVI, 799;

> Every male fiend and every female fiend shall the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, destroy, whether he descendeth from the heaven, or whether he cometh up from the earth, or whether they come upon the waters, or whether they advance towards the stars, the god Thoth, the son of Aner, coming forth from the Anerti, shall hack them in pieces. ...The Osiris Nu is the god Horus to whom his mother the goddess Isis hath given birth, and whom the goddess Nephthys hath nursed and dandled, even like Horus when (he) repulsed the fiends of the god Suti; and when they see the *ureret* crown established upon his head they fall down upon *their* faces and the glorify (him), Behold, when men, and gods, and *Khus*, and the dead see Osiris Nu in the form of Horus with *the ureret* crown established upon his head, they fall down upon *their* faces. And the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, is victorious over his enemies in the heights of heaven, and in the depths thereof, and before the divine sovereign chiefs of every god and of every goddess.[55]

Another passage shows the custom of the use of various names, each of which was to be employed under certain circumstances.

> I am Osiris, the maker of Maat whereon Ra doth live each day and every day. I am invoked (by the name of) "Bull", and I am addressed among the company of the gods by the name of "Nekh." I create mine own self along with Nu in my name of Khepera, whereby I create myself each and every day. I am the god of divine splendour, and I rise up as Ra, the lord of the East;...[56]

It was customary also to recount some of the deity's outstanding characteristics, and significant achievements in his career. The first of the above quotations from the *Book of the Dead* shows this clearly. A Berlin papyrus threatens evil spirits in the name of Osiris, adding the identifying phrase, "I am that Osiris whom Set murdered."[57] Another says, "I am he who sitteth

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quoted in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 293, n. 1; cf. the hesitancy of the Jews in pronouncing the name of their God and the great care with which the Essenes guarded the names of the angels, *supra*, pp. 202 f.

[55] *Book of the Dead*, Chap. XXXIV, Budge's trans., pp. 217 f.

[56] *Ibid.*, chap. CLIIIB; from *Papyrus of Nu*, (Br. Mus. No. 10,477, sheet 20); Budge's trans., pp. 281 ff.

[57] Berlin Papyrus, I, line 252; quoted by Legge, "The names of Demons in the Magic Papyri," *PSBA*, XXIII, (1901), p. 45 and note.

in Pelusium" (i.e., Osiris).[58] The moral qualities and cosmic functions are set forth in another formula designed to conquer the demonic hosts.

> I am the truth, who hates that injustice should come into the world. I am he who thunders and lightens. I am he whose sweat falls in the shape of rain upon the earth that it may bring forth. I am he whose mouth sets the universe on fire. I am he who genders and brings forth. I am the grace of the Aeon.[59]

In the Shah Namah of Persia, the "white demon" cringes with fear when he hears the name of his antagonist, the mighty hero Rustem.[60] The names of Aphrodite,[61] Osiris,[62] the "great god" (Osiris or Serapis),[63] Osiris and Isis,[64] Asklepios and Isis,[65] the twelve names of Isis,[66] a potent "Orphic word,"[67] and others are found frequently in exorcism and similar magical formulae in the papyri. Some of the incantation texts from Nippur combine the names of Jewish Metatron and Hermes for increased efficacy.[68]

In the mystery religions the devotee was safeguarded against all demons and every kind of evil power by having the name of his deity "within his soul." This is revealed clearly in a typical Hermetic prayer.

> And every serpent roused shall have no power o'er me nor shall I be opposed by any spirit, or daimonial power, or any plague, or any of the evils in the Unseen World; for I

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[58] Br. Mus. Papyrus CXXI, lines 498 f.; Legge, loc. cit.

[59] Br. Mus. Papyrus XLVI, lines 150 ff.; Legge, loc. cit.

[60] Elizabeth A.Reed, Persian Literature,(Chicago, 1893), p. 261.

[61] Wessely, "Neue gr. Zaub. Pap.," No. CXXI, lines 396 ff.; in Denkschr. XLII, (1893-94), p. 33.

[62] "According to thy sacred names," Ibid., lines 451 ff., p. 35.

[63] Leid. Pap. V., col. 5a, lines 1 ff.; Legge, PSBA, XXIII, (1901), pp. 46 f.

[64] Ibid., lines 9 ff.

[65] Wessely, op. cit., lines 632 f., p. 41.

[66] Ibid., p. 51; Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 257 and n. 2.

[67] Wessely, op. cit., lines 459 ff., p. 35.

[68] Montgomery, AITN, Nos. 3,19,25; refs. on p. 99.

> have thy Name within my soul.[69]

An interesting parallel is found in a third-century Gnostic prayer-charm against fever.

> Verily guard and protect Aria from ague by day and quotidian ague and ague by night and slight fever and... All this thou wilt graciously do in accordance with thy will first and with her faith, since she is a servant of the living God, and in order that thy name may be glorified for ever.[70]

The individual's relation to the deity and his possession of his (the god's) name were powerful means of protection against life's ills.

In Egypt the knowledge of the names of deities and of the twenty-one gates through which the soul must pass was the indispensable key to its future bliss. As the deceased comes to each of the pylons he stands in adoration while his guide, the Osiris Auf-ankh, says triumphantly,

> Homage to thee, saith Horus, O thou first (second, etc.,) pylon of the Still-Heart. I have made my way. I know thee, and I know thy name, and I know the name of the god who guardeth thee! Lady of tremblings, with lofty walls, the sovereign lady....

In response to this effective formula each pylon replies, "Pass on, then, thou art pure."[71]

The protective name of the deity was often acquired with all its potency in the initiatory rite of baptism. In the Mandean religion, for example, Jahja, the prototype of all baptizers, describes this significant procedure.

> I place the man in the Jordan as the sheep (are placed) before the shepherd, and by means of my rod I make the water

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[69] Prayer to Hermes, I. 12; Eng. trans. in Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, I, 86; See Reitzenstein, op. cit., p. 18;for fuller discussion see "Union with Deity," Infra, pp. **376-85.**

[70] Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyr. Pap. No. 924; VI, 290, (cf. 288-90).

[71] Book of the Dead, Chap. CXLV, Budge's trans., p. 244, (cf. 244-53). See also Chaps. XXV, XXXII, LXXXIB, XCIX, CXXV, CXLVI.

ripple over them, and I pronounce the name of "the Life" over them.[72]

Elsewhere it is made clear that it is the name of "the Life" that protects the individual against demons both in the present life and in the soul's ascent after death to the Realm of Light.[73]

While some aspects of the use of the name against demons in these mystery and related cults parallel other current usages of the time, two characteristic features should be noted by way of summary: (1) the purpose is to insure divine protection for the individual, not for the group, e.g., in the private prayer of the devotee; (2) it may be used by the cult leaders in the official ritual for the sake of guaranteeing various divine blessings to the members of the cult, not for people in general. Hence it is a strictly personal matter, a privilege open only to those individuals who are qualified to enjoy it by virtue of their personal relationship to the cult deity.

II. Other Symbols of Deity

Since, in the last analysis, it was the power of some divine being that must be depended upon to conquer the demonic forces, any valid method of utilizing that power should prove effective in that struggle. Hence it became customary to use various symbols, charged with divine potency, to avert and expel the evil spirits. In the ancient world a master of slaves would often "brand" them with his name, or some other distinctive seal. This seal, placed on the forehead, the hand, or some other portion of the body, marked the individual as the property of that particular master, and as such he was entitled to all the protection which his master's name carried. The greater the power of the master, the greater the protection his seal guaranteed.[74] If the master was a god, the seal would protect the one marked against all demonic powers that were subject to that particular deity.

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[72] GR. XI. 191. 1-3; quoted in Pallis, Mandaean Studies, (London, 1926), p. 165 and n. 5.

[73] Cf. Heitmuller, INJ, p. 196 and sources; Pallis, op. cit., pp. 179, 189 f. More adequate consideration of this theme will be given under Section IV, infra, pp. 376-85.

Examples of such usage are found in many ancient religious groups. In the Bardesanian Hymn of the Soul is a reference to a letter that has been talismaned with a powerful seal for protection against sinister spirits. "This was my letter, sealed with the King's own seal on the cover, Lest it should fall in the hands of the fierce Babylonian Demons."[75] A characteristic Mithraic seal was burned on the forehead of every soldier of this militant cult. As Tertullian expressed it, "Thus Mithra marks on the forehead of his own soldiers."[76] This was a part of the sacramentum, and was a potent charm against the hosts of devils with whom the mighty Mithra waged relentless warfare. The Mandean candidate for baptism had a "pure sign" named over him which served a similar apotropaic purpose.[77]

The Christian Apocalypist pictures the hosts of the faithful as marked with "the seal of the living God," as an infallible protection against the hostile demonic hordes.[78] Tertullian likewise saw protective value in the Christian symbols and cult rites. He has this significant comment, "The flesh is signed with the cross that the soul too may be fortified."[79] Ignatius saw in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the "medicine of immortality," a powerful prophylactic against all superhuman sources of evil.[80] Orthodox Catholicism still teaches that baptism imprints an ineffaceable seal upon the soul, which is of great protective potency.[81]

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[74] Charles, Rev. in ICC., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1920), I, 198 ff., with sources; cf. supra, pp. 365-71.

[75] Quoted in J.R.Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, p. 64.

[76] Tertullian, Praescr. Her., p. 40; cf. Willoughby, "New Birth Experience," p. 149, cf. p. 148.

[77] Heitmuller, INJ, p. 196.

[78] Rev. 7:1-4.

According to some of the magical papyri, the seal of God was a mighty power for the performance of exorcisms.[82] In some cases the demon also had a seal, and the exorcist who knew it could control the demon just as he could if he had its name.[83]

These "seals" of a deity might be any marks that were distinctive of him. A Leiden papyrus represents a devotee of Osiris as marked with a peculiarly appropriate sign of this deity, which he considers efficacious against possible assailants. "I bear the corpse of Osiris.... should So-and-so trouble me I shall use it against him."[84] The expression of Paul in Gal. 6:17 is strikingly parallel. He also is protected against trouble from his enemies by the marks (στίγματα) of Jesus which he carries in his body as a potent amulet.[85]

Images of a deity were credited with similar power. A very large number of figurines of the god Thoth have been found all over Egypt. In view of his fame as a conqueror of evil spirits, these undoubtedly were used as amulets.[86] The statue of another Egyptian deity, Khonsu, exorcised a demon of high rank from the daughter of a Mesopotamian prince in the days of Ramses II.[87] During the declining years of Amenhotep III, the king of Mittani sent to the Pharaoh a statue of Ishtar which expelled from him the malicious disease demons.[88] Images of the Egyptian deity Bes were placed above the doors of the sleeping-rooms "to keep away noxious beasts and evil spirits."[89] The eye of Horus was held to be a powerful prophylactic against all enemies, including the demons.[90]

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[79] Tertullian, *de Resur.* p. 8.

[80] Ignatius, *Eph. XX, 2.*

[81] J.F.Sullivan, *Fundamentals of Catholic Belief*, (New York, 1925), p. 176.

[82] Parthey, "Zwei gr. Zaub. Pap.," etc., Pap. 1, line 306 and note, p. 149 with sources.

[83] Gaster, "Charms and Amulets (Jewish)," *ERE*, III, 453b.

[84] *Pap. J 383* of Leiden Museum; quoted in Milligan, *Here and There among the Papyri*, (London, 1922), p. 101; cf. Zwaan in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, VI, (1905), pp. 418 ff.

[85] Cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, (2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 349-60.

III. Piety

In the Oriental cults, as in Judaism,[91] piety was an important safeguard against demonic attacks. A Hermetic passage stresses its importance. "The one means of protection is piety. For neither doth an evil daimon nor doth Fate rule o'er the pious man. For God doth save the pious (man) from every ill."[92] In the Gnostic charm against various diseases already quoted,[93] the speaker pleads for a cure on the ground that the afflicted is "a servant of the living God." In one of the papyri published by Leemans, the magician is to gain power over all men and women because he is "a slave of the most high God."[94]

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[86] Jayne, op. cit., p. 81; P.Boylan, Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt, (Oxford, 1922), p. 131.

[87] Bakhtan Stele, (Paris); quoted by Jayne, op. cit., p. 70; cf. Budge, Egyptian Magic, (London, 1899), pp. 206-13; Gods, (Chicago, 1903), II, 38-41.

[88] Breasted, A History of the Ancient Egyptians, (Chicago, 1903), p. 263; See Winckler, The Tell-El-Amarna Letters, (New York, 1896), No. 20, p. 49 for reference to it.

[89] Jayne, op. cit., p. 55.

[90] Book of the Dead, Chap. CXXXVIIA, secs. 13 f.; Budge's trans. p. 224.

[91] Cf. supra pp. 187 f.

[92] Asclepius, III, 29b; preserved in Lactantius, Div. Inst., II, 15.6; trans. in Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, III, 238; Hermetica, I, 371.

[93] Supra, p. 370 and n. 70.

[94] Leemans, Pap.V, in Pap. Gr. Mus. Ant. Lugd. Bat., Col. 2a, lines 31 f., p. 15.

Piety may be interpreted in any one of a variety of ways, or more probably, most cases involve a combination of two or more elements or attitudes. It might be interpreted in an ethical sense, in terms of observance of a divine law, as an esoteric knowledge, as a sacramental experience, or as some combination of these various factors. Consideration of a number of prayers will reveal varied attitudes, but, more important for our purpose, will show also the magical element permeating all types. In the Avestan literature of Persia, prayer, which was of the nature of conjurations, was considered a most effective method of curing diseases.[95] According to the Vendidad, Ahura Mazda called upon the genius Airyaman(apparently the personification of prayer) to expel disease and death.[96]

The pious devotee of Mithra could always invoke his god with the utmost assurance of his speedy and effective aid against the hosts of evil. For Mithra was,

> the defender of truth and justice, the protector of holiness, and the intrepid antagonist of the powers of darkness. Eternally young and vigilant, he pursues them without mercy; "always awake, always alert," it is impossible to surprise him; and from his never-ceasing combats he always emerges the victor.[97]

The faith of the devout Mithraist in divine help to overcome his invisible foes is clearly expressed in what must have been a typical prayer in this cult.

> Mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! Both in this material world and in the world of spirit, from the fiend Death, from the fiend Aeshma, from the fiendish hordes that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aeshma.[98]

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[95] Casartelli, "Disease and Medicine (Persian)," in ERE, IV, 758b with sources.

[96] Vend., XXII, XXIII, ibid., p. 758a.

[97] Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra,(Chicago, 1910), p. 143.

[98] Yasht 10:93; quoted in Willoughby, "The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religions," p. 444.

In Egyptian cults also, prayer was regarded as an efficacious, offensive strategy against the hosts of evil. Origen tells of the thirty-six divinities who had charge of the various parts of the body and gives some of their names. Then he adds, "By invoking these they cure the ailments of the different members of the body."[99] Clearly prayer is in such a case regarded as exorcistic, or in some cases apotropaic.

A papyrus states that the Egyptian physician, while he was compounding his medicines, prayed as follows:

> May Isis heal me as she healed Horus from all pain which his brother Set hath inflicted on him when he slew his father Osiris. Oh Isis! great wonder-worker, heal me and set me free from all evil, destructive, and demoniacal inflictions, from fatal diseases, and uncleanness of every kind which befall me. (etc.)[100]

A Hermetic prayer asks for certain blessings and expects a favorable answer on the ground that the petitioner has in his heart powerful names as a charm (φυλακτήριον) against evils and as an assurance of success.[101]

All these sources show that piety, including prayer, involved quite clearly the elements of incantations, magical efficacy and apotropaic procedure.[102]

IV. Union with Deity

For the Mystery Religions the supreme method of conquering all demonic forces was through a mystical union with the god of the cult. This intimate personal experience meant not only a profound emotional exaltation for the devotee: it involved also a metaphysical change in his very being. In some supernatural way there came into his personality an essence of divinity which transformed him into the likeness of his god. The deity was now in a mystical manner a constant, indwelling presence in the heart of the one thus united with him. His presence there would keep at a distance all demonic spirits over which he had supremacy. The importance of such an experience for the conquest of demons was tremendous. It furnished the basis for a powerful appeal to men and women living in a demon-infested world, an appeal which was used with telling effect by the protagonists of the Mysteries.

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[99] Origen, *Cels.*, VIII, 58.

[100] *Ebers Pap.*, quoted by Macalister, "Medicine," *HDB*, III, 332b.

[101] Hermes, Prayer VII, 10 f.; text in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 29; cf. Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 215 f.; Parthey, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Pap. No. 2, lines 53 f., 87-90, 100-141.

[102] Cf. the "vain repetitions" of Gentile cult prayers, cf. Matt. 6:7.

> One of the chief reasons why the ordinary man in Paul's world joined a particular cult brotherhood was just this one; the cult gave him the privilege of entering into realistic union with the Lord and thus securing a prophylactic against demonic influence; At every turn in the study of the Mystery religions one encounters this idea; he who had been initiated into the mysteries was safe from harm so far as evil spirits were concerned.[103]

The realism of such a profound experience is revealed clearly in a Hermetic prayer.

> Thy name and thy Spirit are upon me for good. Enter into my mind and my heart all the days of my life and fulfill all the desires of my soul. For thou art I and I thou; what I say may it always come to pass. For thy name I hold as a charm in my heart and no menacing hand shall ever have power over me, and on account of thy name which I hold in my soul no spirit or demon or phantom or any evil presence from Hades shall rise up against me.[104]

Protection against hostile demons was a major concern of these Mystery Cults. In the rites of initiation great care was taken to keep them at a distance. Plutarch tells us that, in the processions at the Eleusinian rites, the participants made ugly faces, beat one another, engaged in coarse jests, and used abusive and obscene language to drive away the demons.

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[103] Willoughby, NBE, pp. 443 f.

[104] Hermes' Prayer, I, 11 f.; Greek text in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 17 f. (Greek for "charm" is φυλακτήριον).

Then they could perform the more solemn rites which followed, free from the contamination of the evil spirits.[105] Rites of purification, which occupied an important place in the initiatory rites of these cults, also had apotropaic value.[106] A Hermetic text puts emphasis on the need for warding off demons as a preliminary to the new birth experience. A candidate for initiation receives these instructions,

> And (then), without invoking them, perform the sacred rites to the daimones, - not such as offer things to them and soothe and nourish them, but such as turn them from thee and destroy their power. ...And if thou shalt effectively perform these rites, thou shalt obtain the physical conditions of pure birth. And so continue till thou perfect thy soul completely.[107]

The purpose of these apotropaic rites was no doubt twofold. The major end to be achieved was complete purification from demonic defilement of the individuals concerned, that the deity might take up his abode within their hearts and bring them protection and blessing. A minor purpose was that of keeping the evil spirits far away from the performance of the sacred initiatory rites that they might not learn the cult secrets and divulge them publicly.

This union with the deity, which gave the initiate freedom from demonic assaults, was usually mediated by the rite of baptism. Belief in the cleansing power of water, in a ritualistic as well as a physical sense, was practically universal in the ancient world.[108] Its magical, apotropaic, life-giving efficacy was accepted as a matter of course. In the myth of Ishtar's descent to Hades she was smitten with sixty diseases, but was restored to health when sprinkled by the nymphs with the Water of Life. Upon returning to the earth she restored the dead Tammuz to life by washing him with this life-giving water. The revivification of the god was re-enacted annually at the Tammuz festival when the women poured water over the image of Tammuz.

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[105] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, XXVI, (361B); Cessation of Oracles, XIV, (417C).

[106] Cf. supra, pp.217-34 ; Rohde, Psyche, (New York, 1925), p. 398; Demosthenes, On the Crown, par. 259; cf. Harrison, Prolegomena, (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 492 f.

[107] "On the Anthropos Doctrine," Eng. Trans. in Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, III, 283 f.

[108] See supra, pp.228-31, with sources.

Water had a vital part in the initiation ceremonies of the mystery cults. The Isiac devotee in his prayer to the goddess for healing from diseases and safety from all harm, appeals to his rites of purification as ample grounds for his petition: "I have passed through fire and am come out of the water."[109] In fact water was the symbol of immortality in Egyptian religions, and the water of the baptismal rite had a sacramental as well as a symbolic efficacy. In the other Mysteries also the initiatory ablution was indispensable to the realistic transformation by which the devotee became demon-proof.[110]

The Mandean practice and interpretation of baptism reveal clearly its sacramental significance and the power over demons with which the initiate was endowed. The rite was performed in the "living water" of the Jordon. The name of "The Life" was pronounced over the individual and a "pure sign" was bestowed upon him as a protection. The name and the sign were powerful prophylactics against all evil forces, both in this earthly life and for the journey of the soul through the various stations on its way to the Realm of Light.[111]

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[109] Jayne, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.

[110] See Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration*, (Chicago, 1929), Index on "Baptism."

[111] Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, pp. 165, 179; Heitmüller, *INJ*, pp. 195 ff.

Other sacramental rites which united the devotee with his god were likewise potent for securing or renewing his conquest over demons. Of these the most universally observed was some form of communal meal shared by deity and devotee, thus strengthening the divine essence dwelling in the initiate. It was of course this essence of divinity that safeguarded one against all forces of evil. Justin, in a denunciation of the Mithraic communion as a demonic plagiarism on the Christian Eucharist, bears witness to its sacramental value for its votaries. He asserts,

> The wicked demons have imitated this in the mysteries of Mithra, commanding the same thing to be done. For that bread and a cup of water are placed before the initiate with certain incantations in these mysteries, you either know or can learn.[112]

Other sources make it clear that in a very realistic sense the Mithraic communion gave the participant a divine substance which empowered him to overthrow the spirits of evil that assailed him.[113] This aim seems to have been embodied in the more inclusive goal of union with the deity in the other mysteries also, whatever the particular form of sacrament used. The votaries of Dionysus achieved the goal through the drinking of wine and the "feast of raw flesh" (often of the goat);[114] the Eleusinian devotees in partaking of the foods sacred to their goddess;[115] the adherents of the Great Mother through the taurobolium (or cribolium), the mystic marriage, or the sacred meal;[116] the followers of Isis through participation in the tragic drama of death and resurrection.[117] In every case the devotee was victorious over demonic hordes because the "insert of divinity" within him expelled the evil powers. They could not dwell together in the same individual at the same time.[118]

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[112] Justin, Apology, I, 66.

[113] See Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, pp. 161 ff.

[114] Ibid., pp. 74-79 with sources.

[115] Ibid., pp. 59 f.

[116] Ibid., pp. 129-36; for the priests the supreme form was probably that of self-mutilation.

A Hermetic passage represents the regenerative experience of Tat. Before rebirth can take place it is necessary for the twelve evil propensities, which have their abode in him, to be driven out. When these "brutish torments, things of matter" are expelled, the twelve divine powers (δυνάμεις) come in and take possession of his being.[119] Here is exorcism of a somewhat different type than is usually considered, but it was as vital and genuine for this author as an experience could be. Another text deals with the metaphysical aspect of release from demons through divine power.

> If then the rational part of a man's soul is illuminated by a ray of light from God, for that man the working of the daemons is brought to naught; for no daemon and no god has power against a single ray of the light of God.[120]

The Mystery Religions guaranteed victory over hostile spirits after death as well as during the present life. People in the first-century world were obsessed with the fear of demons that would harass the soul in its wanderings after death, and clung eagerly to hopes of deliverance from them.[121] In the words of Cumont,

> According to the common creed, the air was peopled with troops of perverse and subtle demons. They were, it was thought, the guilty souls whose faults condemned them to

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[117] Ibid., pp. 188-92; these mentioned are only typical, not exhaustive, of the current rites of the time.

[118] Cf. Paul's attitude in I Cor. 10:20-22; cf. vs. 16.

[119] Corpus Hermeticum, XIII, 7-10; Gk. text in Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 341-43; Eng. trans. in Mead, op. cit., II, 223-26; cf. Willoughby, "New Birth Exp.," p. 445 and n. 1.

[120] Corp. Herm., Lib. XVI, 15 f.; Eng. trans. in Scott, Hermetica, I, 271.

[121] Cf. supra pp.312-316; Case, ESECT, pp. 247 ff.

> wander perpetually near the surface of the earth. They took pleasure in inflicting a thousand tortures on their fellow souls, when these, by their impiety, were left defenceless against them. ...The dangers to which the soul was exposed did not always end when, after having crossed the most dangerous zone of the air, it reached the moon. Those who believed that souls must pass through the planetary spheres conceived these as pierced by a gate guarded by a commander (ἄρχων) or, as they were also called, by toll gatherers (τελώνια). The mystics claimed to supply their initiates with the passwords which caused the incorruptible keepers to yield. They taught prayers or incantations which rendered hostile powers propitious; by "seals" and unctions they made their followers immune against the blows of such enemies.[122]

The fear that the souls of the dead must suffer agonizing tortures at the hands of the demons was both widespread and deepset in first-century attitudes.[123] The impression prevailed that these evil spirits had the first claim on the souls of the dead. In fact they were often held responsible for wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes and the practice of human sacrifice, for in all these they found the opportunity to indulge their ravenous thirst for their unhappy victims.

The enormous popularity of astrological thinking had tended to intensify rather than allay these fears. People seemed more than ever in the tremendous grip of an inexorable determinism, and despaired of any release through human agencies. These powerful forces were more and more linked up with the astral bodies which moved according to fixed fate,[124] and man was the helpless victim. He longed for an intimate alliance with some beneficent divine power strong enough to guarantee him certain victory over demons and cosmic fate and the assurance of a blissful immortality.

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[122] Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, (New Haven, 1922), pp. 162 f.

[123] Plutarch, Whom God is Slow to Punish, XXII ff.; Case, ESECT, p. 293 and n. 41; Scott, Hermetica, I, 269, 345, 369 f.; III, 265 f., 271; Meade, op. cit., II, 154.

[124] For astral powers as evil see Pliny, NH, XVI, 74; XVIII, 69, 75, 78-86; cf. XXXI; Pallis, Mandaean Studies, pp. 20, 160, 186 f. and sources; Cumont, ARGR.

It was just these guarantees that the Mystery Religions gave. Their gods had already suffered the onslaughts of the arch-demon Death and his cohorts, and had gloriously triumphed over them.[125] Because of these conquests over Death and all other hostile demons that lay in wait for human souls, they were supremely qualified to insure a like victory to their initiates. Through intimate union with a death-conquering deity the devotee realistically partook of the divine nature and was henceforth assured of certain victory over all hostile spirits.

Isis, the powerful and beneficent goddess, and her consort Osiris were eminently qualified to grant victory to their votaries. Osiris had suffered death at the hands of the demon Set and his hordes , but had risen triumphantly, having been elevated to the rank of deity. Isis also had restored her son Horus to life and, like Osiris, had been exalted to the status of deity. Those who were initiated into this cult shared with Lucius a profound confidence of freedom from the grip of Fortune,

> let her go now and rage with all her fury and let her seek some other object for her cruelty; for direful calamity has no power over those whose lives the majesty of our goddess (Isis) has claimed for her own service.[126]

The same goddess is also addressed as the conqueror of harmful astral forces: "Thou unravellest the inextricably tangled web of Fate. Thou dost alleviate the tempests of Fortune and restrainest the harmful courses of the stars."[127] An inscription gives a clear-cut expression of faith in a blessed immortality by one who has shared the nature of his risen lord Osiris. "As truly as Osiris lives, the initiate shall live; as truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die; as truly as Osiris is not annihilated, shall he not be annihilated."[128] This represents the supreme and ultimate victory of the human soul over the malicious demons.

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[125] E.g., Osiris' victory over Set; cf. Willoughby, NBE, passim; Case, ESECT, pp. 255 f.

[126] Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XI, 15.

[127] Quoted in Angus, Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, p. 268.

Mithra too could offer the strongest assurances of present and future conquest of the powers of darkness to those who enlisted under his banner. In the great cosmic conflict that was continually being waged between the hosts of good and the powers of evil, this valiant god was the champion and leader of the righteous against the malignant demons. But, also, "as an antagonist of the infernal powers, he insured the welfare of his followers in the future life as well as on earth."[129] He was indeed the keeper of those, united with him by mystic rites, "in both worlds... from the fiend Death, from the fiend Aeshma, from the fiendish hordes that lift up the spear of havoc and from the onsets of Aeshma."[130] In the end Ahriman and his forces of evil will be destroyed in the general conflagration, the universe will be renewed, and the righteous will rejoice in an eternity of bliss.[131]

In the Mandean religion the savior Hibil (or Manda d Haije) could also insure his followers a triumph over evil spirits. He had been baptized in the holy water, invested with sacred garments, descended to the lower regions, conquered Krun, the supreme demon of darkness, secured a passport back to earth, and gained possession of a signet ring inscribed with the "name of the great darkness." With the aid of this powerful name, and others in his control, he crushed the rulers in the underworld and ascended to the land of the living. This conquest of the demons and return to earth came to be symbolic of the soul's victory over all malicious spirits in its ascent to the Realm of Light.[132] Apparently dramatic representations of this conflict were vividly portrayed in the mystery halls as a part of the initiation rites of the cult, for the edification of those entering its ranks. Like the victorious gods of the other cults this dying-and-rising savior could guarantee his faithful devotees ultimate victory over demonic foes.

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[128] CIL, III, 1090; quoted by Easton, "The Pauline Theology and Hellenism," American Journal of Theology, XXI, (1917), p.373.
[129] Cumont, ORRP, p. 158.
[130] Yasht 10:93.
[131] Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, p. 146.

This assurance of the final triumph of the mystery devotees in all cults over malicious spirits may be summarized in the words of Angus:

> They had their message - and a comprehensive one - to the burdened minds of the age. To those moving nervously in a world disturbed by puissant demons they promised union with a deity to whom even the demons were servants. ...To those 'servile to skyey influence' they effected henosis with a cosmic deity to whom the astral gods and the elements were in submission. To those overwhelmed by the sense of finitude they opened 'the path to the stars' or secured participation in the life of the deity. To those oppressed by the dread of death they imparted demortalizing sacraments guaranteeing immortality through deification. ...For the dying a viaticum was provided and prayers and promises for the closing hours.[133]

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[132] Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 189 f., with sources cited.

[133] Angus, *RQGRW*, 2 vols. (New York, 1913-19), I, 386 f., 390 f., 399; Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.; Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 542, and n. 144 on pp. 573 f., for extensive source materials. For a similar idea in the Papyri, *see* Parthey, *op. cit.*, Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 177-81.

CHAPTER X

ROMAN EXORCISM: PRIVATE PRACTICES

A. Introduction: Their Prevalence and Basic Philosophy

The performance of rites of exorcism was by no means limited to official religious cults, whether native Roman or imported from abroad. They were widely exploited by unofficial exorcisers who might be characterized as professional free-lances of the trade. The increasing tension of life for the masses, and their growing uncertainty in the face of a multitude of forces and fears against which they seemed powerless, provided a soil in which all sorts of magical practices flourished. The magician, who claimed to have secret knowledge that gave him control over all these hostile powers, became for the populace an indispensable benefactor whose services were eagerly sought. Pliny testifies to the powerful sway of magic in his time, declaring that it has embraced within its baneful influence the three great beneficent human interests of divination, medicine, and religion.[1] But it is obvious that men who claimed such occult powers and exercised so strong a hold on the masses would meet with official disapproval from the rulers. Such knowledge could too easily be used to foment political disturbance, even rebellion against the emperor, for the imperial officials to permit its indiscriminate use. Vigorous and repeated attempts were made by the emperors to suppress the activities of magicians of all sorts. Augustus ordered more than two thousand volumes of magical books to be burnt.[2] In Tiberius' reign magicians were put to death by being hurled from the Rock, by crucifixion, or by other horrible forms of execution.[3] Even the possession of copies of books of magic made one liable to persecution.[4] But the popular demand was so great that the magicians flourished in spite of official decrees against them. Hence in many cases their practices, though outlawed, throve in secret. It may be that this fact of secrecy tended psychologically to enhance the power which these people wielded over their awed patrons.

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[1] Pliny, NH, XXX, 1; cf. Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, VII, 39; Lucian, Philopseudes, Chaps. XIII, XIV; Horace, Epode, V, 72; Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, (Chicago, 1911), p. 139. This position is amply supported by the magical papyri, e.g., Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 96-131, edited by Parthey, "Zwei griechische Zauber-Papyri des Berliner Museums," Abhand-lungen der Konigl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, (1865).

Exorcism was a phase of magic. The exorcist claimed to have access to, and to some degree control over, certain powerful forces that could conquer demons. For a consideration (usually at least) he would use this secret knowledge and power to free people from the malicious demonic pests. The nature of his profession required the exorcist to be familiar with popular fears and superstitions, and with the multitude of charms, amulets, protective objects and rites in current usage. Whenever these proved effective instruments to supplement his major praxis they were so employed. But as these were not the distinctive contribution of the exorcists to the problem of conquering demonic forces, they will receive meager and secondary attention here.[5] These practices were more or less common property. But his distinctive knowledge and procedure represented the technique of the skilled expert, which was unique and of superior efficacy.

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[2] Suetonius, Octavius, Chap. XXXI.
[3] Tacitus, Annals, II, 32.
[4] Cumont, ORRP, p. 191; Tacitus, Annals, VI, 29; XII, 59; XVI, 31; Preller, Rom. Myth., (3rd ed.: Jordan, Berlin, 1883), II, 422-25.
[5] See supra, pp. 343-50.

The exorcism of demons from possessed persons was an ancient art in Greece and the Orient. For many centuries Babylonians and Assyrians,[6] Egyptians,[7] and Persians[8] had used the practice, chiefly under religious auspices. As early as the time of Homer it was current in Greece, and by Aristotle's day books of well-known formulae were in circulation.[9] Although the practice was not as native to Rome, or prevalent there as early, because of the Roman hesitancy in interpreting these pneumatic experiences so realistically, it was widespread throughout the empire by the first century.[10] The centuries of influence on Roman life by Greek and Oriental cultures had thoroughly accustomed them to these practices until they were now considered normal ways of meeting the issues involved. For a long time, however, they seem to have been carried on chiefly by people of non-Roman stock.

The exorcist claimed to have a thoroughly scientific basis for his work. It had its roots in the soil of supernaturalism which was everywhere prevalent. Calamity, disease, death, famine, pestilence, a multitude of disorders in society, were all to be traced to demonic sources. The ills which issued from superhuman sources must be cured through alliance with other superhuman agencies. The realms of superhuman forces, both helpful and harmful, were considered to be thoroughly organized and graded according to rank and power. All the way from the highest to the lowest each spirit power had its particular degree of authority. Here as in the area of human experience the individual of lower rank was subject to the authority of the higher. All unconsciously perhaps, but inevitably, something of the imperial system with its grades of authority was applied to the realms of invisible powers. If a demon of a particular rank possessed a man, he could be driven out by a spirit of higher rank. In order to perform this task the exorcist must know what spirits occupied each plane of authority. In many cases the astral relationship was of importance also. Certain spirits were subject to particular stars or signs of the zodiac. Each of the major astral powers had its hierarchy of powers subject to it, but each must recognize the authority and prerogative of the others in their own realms. The whole system was a very complicated affair. Anyone expecting to deal effectively with it must be familiar with a multitude of names and relationships.

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[6] Thompson, Semitic Magic; Thompson, The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia.

[7] Wiedemann, The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, (New York,1897), pp. 271-283; cf. 284-307; index on "Formulas."

[8] Casartelli,"Disease and Medicine (Persian)," ERE, IV, 757-59 and sources cited.

[9] See Conybeare,"Christian Demonology," JQR, (1896), p. 90.

[10] The pages which follow will supply source materials.

Through the centuries there had grown up a very extensive demon lore involving these names, formulae, and similar matters. This had been collected into books, with the particular formulae that had proved effective for driving out the demons of many kinds and under a great variety of circumstances. The exorcist who had possession and mastery of these materials was qualified to put to flight the evil forces that molested mankind.

The methods of the exorcist included the use of: (1) the names of deities, (2) unintelligible words and phrases, (3) names of angels, (4) names of great heroes, (5) syncretistic names, (6) the exorcist's own authority, (7) passages from various scriptures, (8) miscellaneous supplementary procedures.

B. Use of Names of Deity

The distinctive feature of the exorcist's method was the use of special formulae which he addressed to the demon who was "possessing" some one. In the name of some great power (or powers) he commanded the demon to depart from the person and to molest him no more. The use of the right names of power was the secret of success. Attention has already been called to the fact that the use of a name in such a connection brought to bear all the power of the being so invoked.[11] Some names were inherent with such tremendous power that their invocation in the proper manner would produce almost any desired effect in the universe.[12] Thus the proper use of twelve magic names would bring the answers to all of the magician's petitions;[13] the name of a great deity was a powerful means of protection;[14] the power to heal all diseases would be bestowed on the one pronouncing aright the potent formula with the divine name, and would be accompanied by the entrance of the divine spirit into the petitioner;[15] the name in the heart was an amulet against all evil forces and a guarantee of all desired blessings;[16] the angel of death quails in fear at the sound of "the great name;"[17] at its utterance the devils and all creation tremble,[18] the earth will pass away, Hades will be shaken, sun, moon, stars, and the whole universe will be convulsed.[19]

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[11] Supra, pp. 192,390; Heitmuller, INJ, pp. 162 ff.

[12] See especially, Heitmuller, op. cit.; Dieterich, Abraxas, pp. 2-20, 169-205; Legge, in PSBA, Vol. XXIII,(1901), pp. 41-49; Erman, Handbook of Egyptian Religion,(London, 1907), pp. 154-56.

[13] Berlin Pap. No. 2, lines 30-35, 65-75, ed. by Parthey, op. cit.

[14] Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 206-8, ibid., p. 125.

[15] Ibid., lines 284, 317, 330 f; Lucian, Philopseudes, Chaps. 10, 12.

[16] Leemans, Pap. W. (8th Book of Moses), lines 1-12, names follow, pp. 143 f.

[17] Montgomery, AITN, Text No. 30, p. 128.

[18] Ibid., pp. 131 f. and sources; cf. Deissmann, Bible Studies,(2nd ed.), pp. 288 and nn. 4,5; see also p. 298.

Of all the names used for exorcism those of the great deities were considered most efficacious. They represented the highest authority, hence their names carried the greatest weight. Exorcists felt perfectly free to use in their formulae the names of any deities that had proved potent for their purpose. The presence of the Jews in large numbers in the great centers of population throughout the empire had familiarized everyone with the great reverence and awe in which this race held their god. The prevailing fear with regard to the open pronunciation of the name of the Jewish deity, their strict (almost fanatical) monotheism, and their employment of the divine name as a "word of power" - all these factors naturally led free-lance exorcists to the use of the name and titles of Yahweh, "the Most High God."[20] The fame of the Jews as magicians, which was current in the Roman Empire,[21] also added to the efficacy which inhered in the name of their deity.

Gentile exorcists, like their Jewish contemporaries,[22] used a diversity of terminology in their invocation of the name of Yahweh. In some cases the Tetragrammaton itself was used,[23] or the variant vocalized forms such as "Yahu"[24] and "Iao."[25] Origen refers to the frequent use of the name of the Hebrew deity in exorcism, under such forms as "God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Jacob," "the God of Israel," "the God of the Hebrews," "the God who drowned in the Red Sea the king of Egypt and the Egyptians."[26] Familiar titles such as Lord Sabaoth,[27] Adonai,[28] El Shaddai,[29] the all-powerful god,[30] and the great god[31] also had their place in the current formulae. The Eighth Book of Moses gives much attention to a divine name, the Ogdoad, to which are subject angels, archangels, male and female demons and all things under creation; which seems to go back for its source to the monotheistic Hebrew deity.[32] In Berlin Papyrus No. 1 the exorcist has almost unlimited power through the use of the powerful name of the "most holy god" who has created the decans and the archangels, - another possible reference to Yahweh.[33]

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[19] Leemans, Pap. V, col. 7a, lines 28-31, p. 27; Pap. W., P. 19a, lines 33-38, p. 149 of text; Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 200, lines 3-8, (from 8th Bk. of Moses, XIX, 32-37); Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln, Lietzmann's Kleine Texte für theol. Vorles. u. Üb., no. 20, (Bonn, 1907), No. 4, lines 42 ff., pp. 19 f.

[20] This was a characteristic designation of the god of the Jews by Gentiles. Cf. Mark 5:7; Luke 8:28; Ac. 16:17.

[21] Juvenal, Satires, VI, 542-47.

[22] For Jewish usage, see supra, pp. 192-200.

[23] Harl. MS 5596; see n. 66, supra, p. 192 ff.

[24] Montgomery, AITN, and sources.

[25] Wessely, Pap. CXXI, lines 224 ff., op. cit., p. 27; 8th

The name of Jesus soon came to be used by non-Christians as well as Christians, as a word of power for exorcisms. Its early adoption by the Jewish exorcists at Ephesus shows the current custom of adding to one's stock in trade a new potent name as soon as its efficacy was discovered.[34] It reveals also the power which seemed to reside in the name of this new deity. By those unfamiliar with the details of the new Christian movement

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Bk. of Moses, XVIII, 11-24, in Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 197, lines 5-15. For a valuable discussion, with many other forms, see Deissmann, Bible Studies,(2nd ed.), pp. 321-36, with source citations.

[26] Origen, Cels., IV, 34; quoted in part, supra,p. 199,cf. n. 25.

[27] Paris MS 2316, Leaf 318 v., quoted in Reitzenstein, op. cit., p. 295, n. 1; Wessely, op. cit., Pap. CXXI, lines 326 ff., p. 31.

[28] Wessely, Ibid., lines 224 ff., p. 27.

[29] Montgomery, AITN, Text No. 34, p. 232.

[30] Paris MS 2316; see supra, p. 198 and n. 65.

[31] Leemans, Pap. V, col. 8a, lines 16-19; op. cit., p. 29. Cf. Ac. 8:10; Deissmann, BS, p. 336 and n. 5.

[32] 8th Bk. of Moses,XVI, 45-49, in Dieterich, op. cit., p. 194, lines 6-11; Leeman, Pap. W., op. cit., pp. 139, 141.

[33] Lines 207 f.; ed. by Parthey, op. cit., p. 125. Yahweh's activity in creating and sustaining the universe was a favorite theme in Jewish apologetic in the Gentile world.

[34] Ac. 19:11-20.

it was easy to confuse Jesus with Yahweh and make him the deity of the Jews. This has occurred in a magical papyrus which runs, "I adjure thee by Jesus the god of the Hebrews," followed by a host of variations of the Tetragrammaton and many mystical words of doubtful import.[35] As a rule in this period, several names are found together in a single formula, for with a number of powers invoked there was greater certainty of success. If one deity failed to bring the desired result, others probably would secure it. Our records seem to show more frequent use of the names and titles of the Jewish deity than any other, yet many others were employed. Zeus, Apollo and other Olympian deities were sometimes invoked.[36] Apollonius of Tyana was credited with the expulsion of the plague demon from Ephesus through the help of Hercules, though the specific formula, if used, is not recorded.[37] A demon of distemper in horses was ejected by giving the animal a potion, blowing upon him, and saying, "Flee, then, O evil distemper, Poseidon is after thee."[38] For gout the hero Perseus was employed to drive out the disease demon.[39] For many centuries the names of Egyptian deities had been potent for exorcism.[40] The mysterious name Abraxas, whose origin and real meaning are still uncertain,[41] was a favorite word of power in the formulae of the magical papyri.[42] In one of the incantation texts published by Montgomery a charm is to be effective through the use of the seals of El Shaddai, "Abraxas the mighty lord" and other great powers.[43]

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[35] Pap. Paris Bibl. nat., 3019 ff., Wessely, Denks., p. 120; Deissmann, Bible Studies, p. 325 and n. 5.

[36] Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 296-315, Parthey, op. cit., p. 128 f.

[37] Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, IV, 10; VIII, 7.

[38] Hippiatrica, p. 15, c. 22; quoted by Conybeare, JQR, IX, (1896), p. 95 and n. 4.

[39] Conybeare, loc. cit.

[40] Erman, op. cit.; Budge, The Book of the Dead; Jayne, HGAC, pp. 69 f.

[41] Kenyon, (Greek Papyri in the British Museum, 1893 ff., Vol. I, p. 63) considers it a corruption of a Hebrew benediction, 'pronounce the blessing,' which still survives in the term abracadabra.

The efficacy of the utterance of a deity's name was often greatly enhanced by a recital of his deeds of power. The purpose was to identify him beyond question and to strike with greater terror the demon to be expelled. Such a recognition of his power and appeal to his pride would also enlist his whole hearted support most effectively. As early as the time of Herodotus it had been customary at a Persian sacrifice for the magus to come forward and sing an incantation which contained a brief history of the deity to whom the sacrifice was being made.[44] The Jews had long followed the practice of recounting the deeds of Yahweh in connection with their worship, and in their missionary activities. The Christians similarly recited the striking deeds of Jesus' career in their exorcisms.[45] Origen informs us that it was customary for exorcists in his time to recount some of the remarkable feats of the Hebrew God in connection with the utterance of his name.[46] Numerous other examples are now available in the papyri. One of the most striking is a love-charm found at Adrumetum, near Carthage.[47] A girl named Domitiana, desperately in love with a certain Urbanus, adjures the demon to bring her lover to her. The formula is in the name of the Hebrew god, whose cosmic functions and historic achievements are enumerated at great length. It says in part:

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[42] *See* Wessely, *op. cit.*, index, "ἀβρασαξ." Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 151 and sources cited.

[43] Montgomery, *AITN*, Text No. 34, p. 232.

[44] Herodotus, I, 132; Conybeare, *loc. cit.*, pp. 93 f.

[45] Cf. *supra*, p.

[46] Origen,- *c. Cels.*, IV, 34; *see supra*, p. 199; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.*, IX, 27, 24-26

[47] Deissmann places the present document, a lead-tablet, about the third century A.D. but the sourcebook of formulae from which it was copied, in the second century or earlier. *see op. cit.*, pp. 279, 294.

> I adjure thee, demonic spirit, who dost rest here, with the sacred names Aoth Abaoth, by the God of Abraan and the Jao of Jaku, the Jao Aoth Abaoth, the God of Israma: hearken to the glorious and fearful and great name,... I adjure thee by the great God, the eternal and more than eternal and almighty, who is exalted above the exalted Gods. I adjure thee by Him who created the heaven and the sea. I adjure thee by him who separates the devout ones. I adjure thee by him who divided his staff in the sea,....I adjure thee by him who caused the mule not to bear. I adjure thee by him who divided the light from the darkness. I adjure thee by him who crusheth the rocks. I adjure thee by him who parted the mountains. I adjure thee by him who holdeth the earth upon her foundations. I adjure thee by the sacred Name which is not uttered; in the ... I will mention it and the demons will be startled, terrified and full of horror,... I adjure thee by him who set a lamp and stars in the heavens by the command of his voice so that they might lighten all men. I adjure thee by him who shook the whole world, and causeth the mountains to fall and rise, who causeth the whole earth to quake, and all her inhabitants to return. I adjure thee by him who made signs in the heaven and upon the earth and upon the sea. I adjure thee by the great God, the eternal and almighty, whom the mountains fear and the valleys in all the world, through whom the lion parts with the spoil, and the mountains tremble and the earth and the sea, (through whom) every one becomes wise who is possessed with the fear of the Lord, the eternal, the immortal, the all-seeing, who hateth evil, who knoweth what good and what evil happeneth in the sea and the rivers and the mountains and the earth. Aoth Abaoth; by the God of Abraan and the Jao of Jaku, the Jao Aoth Abaoth, the God of Israma, bring and unite Urbanus, whom Urbana bore, with Domitiana, whom Candida bore, - loving, frantic, tormented with love and affection and desire for Domitiana, whom Candida bore; unite them in marriage and as spouses in love for the whole time of their life. So make it that he, loving, shall obey her like a slave, and desire no other wife or maiden, but have Domitiana alone, whom Candida bore, as his spouse for the whole time of their life, at once, at once! quick, quick![48]

C. Uses of Strange and Unintelligible Words and Phrases

The ancient world operated on a psychology which held the secret, mysterious, unusual and bizarre in extremely high regard. This finds expression in exorcism as elsewhere. Many strange names, words and phrases, combinations of vowels, etc., which to us are wholly unintelligible, found an important place in the formulae. Apparently the name of a deity expressed in this concealed way had as great or greater power than if it were uttered openly in the form familiar to all.[49] It had the further advantage that it could not be picked up at a hearing or two by any bystander, for the expressions were very complicated. Hence it protected the monopoly of the exorcist against plagiarism and safeguarded his financial and professional standing in the community. The secret of much of the exorcist's prestige and success lay in the air of mystery in which he was enveloped. Hence it is impossible for us today to tell to what extent these strange expressions represented to him the names and attributes of great deities, and how far they were merely ingenious jargon used for the psychological effects produced on his hearers. In the light of the profound faith in the occult "sciences" of the time it is probable, however, that the exorcists also believed in their genuine efficacy.

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[48] Deissmann, BS, pp. 277-79; Greek text, pp. 274-77, cf. n.1, p. 273 for critical notes. cf. Dieterich, Abraxas, pp. 139 f.

The most famous of these secret words were known as the Ephesia Grammata. They are referred to as early as Aristotle, when they were already regarded as names of great potency feared by the demons.[50] Plutarch asserts that in his time, "the exorcists commanded the possessed to read over and pronounce Ephesian letters."[51] Very few of the actual expressions still survive in the classical sources, probably because Christian writers often omitted them outright or substituted Christian formulae in their place.[52] The following examples give at least an indication of their character: "askion, kataskion, lix, tetrax, damnameneus, aision."[53] Some of the Ephesian formulae were apparently secret forms of divine names, though Wessely is probably right in calling some of them meaningless combinations.[54] The connection of these with Ephesus is particularly interesting in the light of Paul's experience there. The people in his time still used such books of spells, but gladly burned them when they found the name of Jesus a simple and powerful substitute for their complicated formulae.[55]

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[49] Cf. Asc. Isa. 9:5, "This is... the Lord Christ, who will be called Jesus in the world, but His name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body." Cf. Charles, Rev. in ICC, II, 132.

[50] Conybeare, JQR, IX,(1896), p. 90.

[51] Plutarch, Symposiacs, VII, 5.4; Goodwin's trans., Morals, III, 380.

In the papyri especially, great attention is given to a multitude of vowel combinations, almost every conceivable arrangement being used. Leemans refers to the name of the great god whose name has seven letters and seven tones, a name whose glory is hymned by the angels.[56] This probably is a reference to the Hebrew god, if Kenyon's conjecture that Ιαωουηε represents the full form of the divine name is correct.[57] In Pap. Lugd., J395 (XVIII, 25 f.) it appears in the following forms ιαωουηε (twice) ιεουαηω εηουιαω ,[58] In the same document is a still more complicated arrangement of the vowels which reads, "I call upon you ιυευο ωαεηιαω αεηαιεηαη ιουωευη ιεουηωηι ωηιιαη ιωουηαυη υηα ιωιωαι ιωαι ωη εε ου ιωι αω the great name.[59] Many similar examples bear testimony to the fact that, whatever their specific meaning, these seven vowels of the Greek alphabet in their various permutations and combinations were considered to have tremendous magical power. Perhaps the fact that there were just seven vowels in all - a sacred number - gave considerable mystical significance. No doubt the great efficacy which had become attached to the name of the Jewish god, and the ease with which the name could be vocalized also intensified the magical value of such expressions. Further examples of the use of strange words and phrases will be considered under the syncretistic use of names.

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[52] Conybeare, loc. cit.

[53] Stamm, "The Function of Sacred Books in Early Christianity and the Graeco-Roman Religions," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1926), p. 206 and sources. In the Testament of Solomon, VII, 3, Lix Tetrax is the name of a demon of a sand storm whirlwind. See McCown, Test. Sol., Intro. p. 52, text pp. 28 ff.

[54] Wessely, Wiener Studien, VIII, (1886), p. 183; cf. his "Ephesia Grammata," in the 12th Jahresb. uber K.K.Franz-Josephs-Gymn. in Wien, (1886).

[55] Acts 19:11-19.

[56] Leemans, Pap. V, op. cit., p. 29, col 8a, lines 5-10.

[57] Kenyon, GPGM, p. 63; cf. Deissman, BS, p. 328 and nn.

[58] Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 197.

D. The Names of Angels

Next in efficacy to the names of the great deities came those of the subordinate divine beings, the angels or good demons. These were powerful, not merely because of their superhuman status, but also because they acted as intermediaries between gods and men. Thus, appeals to the deities would often need to go through the proper subordinates. In many cases the angelic functions were specifically concerned with safeguarding individuals or groups of people from all forms of harm. Such names were considered especially effective.

Much of what has already been said[60] about the names of the angels in Jewish exorcism also applies to the Gentile world of our period. One of the most elaborate documents illustrating these usages is the Testament of Solomon. Though built around a Jewish nucleus, it is certainly syncretistic in its present form,[61] and evidently represents practices which were being adopted increasingly in the Roman world. In the Testament each demon is subject to the power of a particular angel, and under a certain star.[62] The utterance of the name of this angel completely masters him. The angels whose names are so powerful are those occupying a high position in the heavenly hierarchy, usually designated as archangels. Their names are also compounds of the name of the Hebrew deity, a fact which undoubtedly added to their efficacy.[63]

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[59] Ibid., XX, 1 ff., 200; Leemans, I, 149 f. Deissmann, BS, p.329, n. 4.

[60] Supra, pp. 200-06

In the papyri the names of the angels are employed, though they occupy a less important place than in the Testament of Solomon or the Aramaic incantation texts. In the Berlin Pap. No. 1 is a powerful magical charm which has invocations to Michael, Gabriel, the right hand and the cup of God, Adonai, etc., as well as to familiar Greek deities.[64] Paris MS 2316 has the names of Michael, Gabriel, Ouriel, Raphael, Louel, Sichael, Melchoidos, Sarazael, Samousael and "Emmanuel the son and logos of our God, who is going to judge the living and the dead," etc.[65] In another document is an amulet in the name of "the angel of fever,[66] and the angel who has the authority over the sick and those who sorrow."[67] It is probable that many who used the names of the angels thought of them as great deities rather than subordinate heavenly powers, since the Gentile world was so accustomed to a multiplicity of gods. It is also likely that some of the secret, mystical names so frequently found were used for these angels, as they were among the Essenes.[68] A variation in the functions of angels in powerful formulae is found in Berlin Pap. No. 1. Here the proper utterance of the formula, containing many divine names, will bring to the speaker a good angel (δαίμονα) from his deity who will reveal such knowledge as divination, the poetical art, the interpretation of dreams, the healing of diseases, and other desired blessings.[69]

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[61] McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, pp. 51-90, esp. 87-90 for summary.

[62] *Ibid.*, Chap. XVIII.

[63] *Ibid.*, for the Greek text; Conybeare, in *JQR*, XI, (1898), pp. 1-45 for Eng. trans; for excerpts, cf. *supra*, pp. 204 f.

[64] Lines 296a-315, cf. 263-347, Parthey, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 f.

[65] Sec. 3, quoted in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 296, cf. p. 297 for other similar sources.

[66] Greek ῥιγοπυρετοῦ.

[67] Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 8; Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, (Gottingen, 1921), p. 137.

E. Names of Great Historical Characters

Often the names of famous historical characters were included in the lists of powers invoked against demons, especially those who had won fame as exorcists. The Hebrew patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the traditional ancestors of their race, came to be considered potent names, not because of deeds of magical power attributed to them but through their close association with the god of their people. Origen's testimony to this current usage in his time is substantiated by many other sources. He says,

> And the names of these individuals possess such efficacy, when united with the name of God, that not only do those belonging to the nation employ in their prayers to God, and in the exorcising of demons, the words, "God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob," but so also do almost all those who occupy themselves with incantations and magical rites. For there is found in treatises on magic in many countries such an invocation of God, and assumption of the divine name, as implies a familiar use of it by these men in their dealings with demons.[70]

These names have a prominent place in an invocation in the Eighth Book of Moses, which reads in part, "Give me success in all my undertakings [then follow magical names] for I wield the power of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great God, the daemon Iao..."[71]

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[68] Josephus, Wars II, 8.7 ; cf. supra, p. 202

[69] Lines 312-47, ed. by Parthey.

[70] Origen, Cels., IV, 33, trans. in ANF, IV, 511 f.; cf. supra, p. 398.

Moses also was a great name in magic. His feats performed before the Pharaoh of Egypt made a great impression upon later generations. By such a triumph over the Egyptians, who were generally considered the supreme masters of the magic art in antiquity,[72] he became a powerful figure in this occult science. His share in the dramatic defeat of the Egyptian armies at the Red Sea was interpreted by tradition as another proof of his unusual power. From these various incidents the rod of Moses also came to assume tremendous efficacy as a weapon against evil powers.[73] Two significant documents of exorcistic formulae are connected with his name, The Sword of Moses, and The Eighth Book of Moses. Sometimes an exorcist to increase the authority of his adjuration would add the potent phrase "I am Moses."[74] A powerful charm in Paris MS 2316 is said to have been given to Moses in Egypt, and later passed on to Solomon,[75] who used it with great efficacy.

In fact, it was Solomon who became most famous as an exorcist in the ancient world, his fame finding expression in Jewish, Arabian and Christian literature as well as in the more or less independent papyrus documents.[76] Tradition attributed to him both the cure of ordinary diseases and the exorcism of demons.[77] His vast knowledge of demon lore was said to have been committed to writing for the benefit of mankind. His power lay ultimately in the use of the divine name which apparently was also inscribed on the ring which he used so effectively in exorcisms. The most elaborate expression of his anti-demonic activities in the early centuries is in the Testament of Solomon, already considered.[78] This was circulated and used in the Roman world, the present form being very syncretistic. Later use of this and similar materials made of Solomon a hero known and revered almost universally as a name to conjure with. A simple Roman charm against quartan ague reveals his power in the popular mind. The procedure follows, "Write on a clean piece of paper, to be attached to the sufferer's right arm, the words 'Begone from yonder Gaius Seius, Solomon is after thee (te sequitur).' "[79]

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[71] XVIII, 11-24 passim, In Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 197, lines 5-15.

[72] Wiedemann, RAE, pp. 92, 94 f., 99, 279 f., 283; index on "Formulas"; Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, (London, 1930), pp. 133-76.

[73] Cf. supra, p. 208, n. 95.

[74] Montgomery, AITN, p. 47, n. 5.

[75] Leaf 318, quoted, Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 293, n. 1.

[76] See McCown, Test. Sol., pp. 59-104, passim for ample source materials and relationships on the Solomonic exorcisms.

[77] McCown, Test. Sol., pp. 90-94 with sources.

As we should expect, the name of this great king, famed for his wealth and wisdom, found a place of importance in the Aramaic texts of Diaspora Judaism.[80] It is also very prominent in the magical papyri. The following quotations are typical of the place accorded him in these documents.

> This charm was given to Moses in Egypt; later it was given to King Solomon, that he might bring into subjection every foul spirit, disease, sorcery, terror, wantonness, shaking fit and ague whether tertian or quartan, whether induced by accident or by the plotting of an aerial spirit; whether a chthonian spirit, or a spirit of the sea, or of magic, or a spirit dumb or jabbering or epileptic, or pretender or marauder or black demon. ...
>
> I adjure thee by the ten thousand nine hundred ninety names by which you made oath to King Solomon, "Wherever we hear the name of the Lord Sabaoth, we flee from those who are there." When Solomon had received this wisdom from God, he enclosed these names in bronze water jars and sealed them with the name of God.[81]

The significance of these great historical characters as exorcists lay in the fact that they were considered unusually effective channels through which the divine power could express itself. Their exceptional piety, or wisdom, or courage, presumably gave them the deep insight into the occult lore necessary to conquer demons. In the course of the centuries, as tradition added to their fame, the exorcists using their names came to be endowed with the power exercised by these heroes of old. Antiquity added prestige in this as in other fields of thought of the time, and so their names gained added weight through the centuries. But it was ultimately the divine power working in and through them that overcame the forces of evil.

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[78] Supra, pp. 203 f.; See McCown, op. cit., pp. 51-104 and text; also Conybeare in JQR, XI, (1898), pp. 1-45.

[79] Pseudo-Pliny III, 15, p. 89R; quoted by Conybeare, in JQR, IX, (1898), p. 95.

[80] See Montgomery, AITN, esp. No. 34, p. 232.

[81] Paris MS 2316, Leaf 318 and 318v, Greek text in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 293, n. 1 and p. 295, n. 1; cf. Wessely, Denks., Pap. CXXI, lines 322 ff., p. 31.

F. Syncretistic Use of Names

It became increasingly customary for those who expelled demons to invoke a number of powerful names in their formulae. In a culture so thoroughly syncretistic as that of the early Roman empire the intermingling of names and formulae from many religions and peoples seemed perfectly natural. Probably no one was more eager to use materials from many different sources than the exorcist. He was concerned primarily with results and the bigger his repertory of powerful names the more successful he was likely to be. In fact a considerable variety of names seemed a necessity for one who wished to meet the needs of a cosmopolitan clientele such as he faced. He must be able to deal with every man's problem by employing the names of deities, angels or great exorcists who struck a familiar chord in the sufferer's experience. Yet they must often be presented with sufficient strangeness to carry an air of mystical potency so highly valued by this age. A statement in Origen suggests that in his time even Christian presbyters had in their possession "barbarous books, containing the names and marvellous doings of demons,"[82] obviously a reference to books of exorcism in a non-Greek language.

Almost innumerable examples of such usage are to be found in the papyri. A few illustrations must suffice. One of the most powerful charms invokes the names of Apollo, Zeus Iao, Michael, Gabriel, Abrasax, the right hand and the cup of God, Adonai, and many others.[83] Another spell which "loosens chains, blinds, brings dreams, causes favours, and may be used for any purpose you wish," has the following long and involved invocation.

> I invoke thee who created the earth and the rocks (lit. the bones) and all flesh and spirit and established the sea, and shakes the heavens and did divide the light from the darkness, the great ordering mind, who disposes all, the everlasting eye, Demon of Demons, God of Gods, the Lord of Spirits, the unwandering Aeon. Iao ouei (Jehovah?) hearken unto my voice. I invoke thee the ruler of the gods, high-thundering Zeus, O king Zeus Adonai, O Lord Jehovah (?). I am he who invokes thee in the Syrian tongue as the great god *Zaalaer iphphou* and do thou not disregard the sound in Hebrew *ablanathanalba abrasiloa*. For I am *silthachoouch lailam blasaloth* Iao ieo *nebuth sabiothar both arbath iao* Iaoth Sabaoth *patoure zagoure Baruch adonai eloai iabraam barbarauo nausiph*, lofty minded, everliving, having the diadem of the whole ordered world, *siepe saktiete* of life (twice) *sphe nousi* (twice) *sietho* (twice). *Chthethonirinch oeaeeol aoe Iao asial* Sarapeolso *ethmouresini sem lau lou lurinch*.[84]

Another characteristic formula gives directions to the exorcist, the names of powerful deities, both in plain and disguised form, and a dire threat of doom to the demon.

> A notable spell for driving out demons. Invocation to be uttered over the head (of the possessed one). Place before him branches of olive, and standing behind him say: Hail, spirit of Abraham; hail, spirit of Isaac; hail, spirit of Jacob; Jesus the Christ, the holy one, the spirit... drive

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[82] Origen, *Cels.*, VI, 40. The statement is ascribed to Celsus and denied by *Origen*, but it points toward the presence of such documents. Whether they were used by orthodox Christians is beside our present purpose.

[83] Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 263-347 (esp. 296-315), Parthey, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff. Cf. Montgomery, *AITN*, text No. 7, pp. 147 f., quoted in part, *supra*, p. **206**.

[84] Lond. *Pap. XLVI*; Kenyon, *GPBM*, pp. 79-81; trans. in Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, I, 106 f.; Cf. Deissmann, *BS*, pp. 327 f.

> forth the devil from this man, until this unclean demon of Satan shall flee before thee. I adjure thee, O demon, whoever thou art, by the God Sabarbarbathioth Sabarbarbathiuth Sabarbarbathioneth Sabarbarbaphai. Come forth, O demon, whoever thou art, and depart from so and so at once, at once, now. Come forth, O demon, for I shall chain thee with adamantine chains not to be loosed, and I shall give you over to black chaos in utter destruction.[85]

A great name of a hundred letters, potent for bringing to the speaker's aid any god or any spirit of the dead that he wishes to summon, is given in a secret formula. It will also serve as an amulet when prepared according to directions.

> Amoun auantau laimoutau riptou imantau lantou laptoumi anchomach araptoumi. Hither, such and such a god! Be visible to me this very day and do not appal my eyes. Hither to me such and such a god! giving ear to my race (?). For this is what anchor anchor achachach ptoumi chancho charachoch chaptoume choraharachoch aptoumi mechochaptou charach ptou chancho characho ptenachocheu, a name written in a hundred letters, wishes and commands. And do not thou, most mighty king, forget the magicians among us; because this is the earliest name of Typhon, at which tremble the earth, the abyss, Hades, heaven, the sun, the moon, the place of the stars and the whole phenomenal universe. When this name is spoken, it carries along with its force gods and demons. It is the hundred-lettered name, the same name as last written. And when thou hast uttered it, the god or the dead person who hears it will appear to thee and will answer concerning the things you ask. And when you have learned all things, dismiss the god only with the strong name, the one of the hundred letters, saying "Begone, Lord, for thus wills and commands the great god!" Say the name and he will depart. Let this treatise, O mighty king, be kept to thyself alone, being guarded from being heard by any other. And this is the phylactery which you should wear. It should be arranged on a silver plate. Write the same name with a brazen pen and wear it attached with a strip of ass's skin.[86]

In one of the Aramic incantation texts the charms are made effective against demons through the use of the seal of King Solomon, of El Shaddai, of Abraxas the mighty lord, and by the seals of the heavenly powers.[87] A papyrus amulet against quotidian ague is made effective through the inscription of the names Iao,

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[85] P. Par. 574 (3rd cent. A.D.), in Milligan, Selections from the Greek Papyri, No. 47, pp. 112-14.

[86] Wessely, Griechische Papyri von Paris und London, pp. 24-26; trans. in Legge, op. cit., p. 104.

[87] Montgomery, AITN, text No. 34, p. 232.

Sabaoth, Adonai, Akrammachamarei,...Abrasax.[88] Another amulet, to protect the family from the evil spirits that dwell under the house, is to have inscribed on a metal leaf the "true name" of the deity, βαινχωωωχ.[89]

In some formulae the invocation is more general. No specific names of deities are given but many inclusive categories of types of divine powers are listed. The practice of classifying in this way the demons to be expelled was ancient among the Babylonians,[90] and continued for many centuries; a number of examples of it occurring in the Aramaic incantation texts.[91] In the papyri it is more common to find the beneficent powers so generalized. The Paris Papyrus contains a striking and unusual formula invoked against the goddess of the Great Bear Constellation.[92] The secret of its potency lies in its use of the names of many cosmic powers, classified according to their nature and functions. The exorcist who was equipped with the united power of such a mighty host would be invincible against all hostile spirits. Because of their efficacy such syncretistic formulae are found frequently in the later papyri.

G. The Exorcist's Own Name

In a few cases an exorcist who had sufficient prestige might expel the demon by the authority of his own name. In the *Testament of Solomon*, when some of the demons appeared before the king he gained control over them by revealing his identity: "I am Solomon, son of David." These words subdued them to his will.[93]

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[88] Pap. CXXI, lines 224 ff., text in Wessely, *op. cit.* p. 27.
[89] Pap. CXXIII, (Br. Mus.), *Ibid.*, pp. 60 f.
[90] Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, Index on "Demons"; also Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*.
[91] *See* Montgomery, *AITN*, *passim*.
[92] Greek text in Wessely, *Denks.*, p. 32, n. For a detailed list of names, phrases, etc., used in papyrus documents *see ibid.*, index, pp. 79-96; Heitmuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-222.
[93] *Test. Sol.*, V, 9, 10; McCown, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.

Perhaps the author does not wish to give the impression that the king possesses sufficient ultimate authority of his own to perform these feats, for he had already told of his having the powerful ring of unfailing efficacy. But it is clear that he has a derived authority of great potency which is immediately recognized by the demons.

In one of the Nippur texts, the speaker appeals to his own name as of sufficient authority to terrorize any demons likely to molest his clients.

> Again, whereinsoever you sin against the house of Pabak and against his property and all the people of his house, in my own right I Abuna bar Geribta - or against Ibba bar Zawithai - will bring down upon you the curse and the perscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue Devils do I come, I Abuna b. G., and all evil Sacraments and the tongue of impious Charm-spirits I have come and smitten the Demons and Devils and evil Tormentors, the Gods (Idol-spirits) and female Goddesses-standing in serried rows and encamped in camps.[94]

Lucian of Samosata, though himself sceptical of such events, records many instances of popular belief in miraculous healings, exorcisms, etc. In the Philopseudes, one of his characters tells of a Syrian from Palestine who was famous for his expulsion of evil spirits. According to his story, the exorcist seemed to act on his own authority, but the brevity of the record leaves open a possibility that he may have employed some well-known powerful names.[95] One of the exorcisms of Apollonius of Tyana seems to have been performed without invoking any higher authority. Apparently this was unnecessary, in the eyes of his biographer Philostratus, since his hero was divine. While the philosopher was discussing a religious theme he was rudely disturbed by a dissolute youth who

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[94] Montgomery, AITN, Text No. 2, p. 121.
[95] Chap. XVI, Harmon's trans. in LCL, III, 345.

> ...burst out into loud and coarse laughter, and quite drowned his voice. Then Apollonius looked up at him and said: "It is not yourself that perpetrates this insult, but the demon, who drives you on without your knowing it." And in fact the youth was, without knowing it, possessed by a devil; (δαίμονι) ... Now when Apollonius gazed on him, the ghost (εἴδωλον) in him began to utter cries of fear and rage, such as one hears from people who are being branded or racked; and the ghost swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again. But Apollonius addressed him with anger, as a master might a shifty, rascally, and shameless slave and so on, and he ordered him to quit the young man and show by a visible sign that he had done so. "I will throw down yonder statue," said the devil, and pointed to one of the images which was in the king's portico, for there it was that the scene took place. But when the statue began by moving gently, and then fell down, it would defy anyone to describe the hubbub which arose thereat and the way they clapped their hands with wonder. But the young man rubbed his eyes as if he had just woke up, and he looked toward the rays of the sun, and won the consideration of all who had now turned their attention to him; for he no longer showed himself licentious, nor did he stare madly about, but he had returned to his own self, as thoroughly as if he had been treated with drugs; and he gave up his dainty dress and summery garments and the rest of his sybaritic ways of life, and fell in love with the austerity of philosophers, and donned their cloak, and stripping off his old self modelled his life in future upon that of Apollonius.[96]

In some cases the exorcist would state his credentials for the purpose of overawing the demon. This frequently took the form of identifying himself with a great prophet, exorcist or deity. A British Museum papyrus shows an exorcist who presents himself as the prophet Moses, a daemon.[97] Apparently a favorite Hermetic form of identification with a great exorcist was the phrase "I am Moses."[98] In the Harris papyrus is a similar Egyptian usage, "I am Amon."[99] There were even cases where the magician claimed identity with a mighty demon, thereby gaining control over subordinate spirits.[100]

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[96] Philostratus, Apoll., IV, 20; Conybeare's trans. in LCL, I, 389-93. On at least one occasion Apollonius depended on Hercules for help; see supra, p. 393 and n. 37.

[97] Br. Mus. Pap. XLVI. (4th cent. A.D.), lines 96-172; Kenyon, GPBM, pp. 68-70. Cf. Wessely, in Denkschriften, of Vienna Academy, (1889) for Greek text. See a similar case in Pap. CXXI, lines 331, in Wessely, Denks., XLII (1893-94), p. 31.

[98] Montgomery, AITN, p. 47 and n. 5 for sources.

[99] Brugsch, Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Aegypter, p. 725.

We cannot be sure as to how far each of these instances was a technical device to further the exorcist's results by the psychological effects produced upon the possessed; and to what extent it is a genuine expression of the individual's conviction that a mystical union with his deity has endowed him with the power of his god. It seems altogether probable that some exorcists should seek such an experience of union with some of the gods of the mysteries, not only for the personal benefits which it assured but also for its professional advantages. However varied the methods, the fundamental need was for vital and effective contact with, and control of, those divine powers that were most potent for conquering the demons. And the exorcists were alert to seize every opportunity to improve their mastery over their elusive foes.

H. Passages of Scriptures

In the sacred records which the gods had revealed to man were to be found powerful resources for every good enterprise. The divine word, whether written or spoken, was charged with tremendous potency. The word had power to cure diseases.[101] It was an entity that carried something of the character and uniqueness of the speaker. It was "spirit" and "life".[102] The word of deity had the power to destroy hostile armies, according to both Jewish and Gentile thinking.[103] In the Epistle to the Hebrews we are told that the Son of God upholds all things "by the word of his power."[104] In the thought of the ancient world the word of a god would not "return unto him void" but would accomplish the divine purpose.[105]

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[100] Montgomery, loc. cit.; Dieterich, Abraxas, p. 68; Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 279.

[101] Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 3, 4.

[102] John 6:63.

[103] Wisd. Sol. 18:15 f.; Rev. 19:13 ff.; Charles, Rev. in ICC, Vol. II, pp. 134-40.

The written word was often used as a powerful weapon against demons, by both Jews and Gentiles.[106] In the light of the importance of sacred Scriptures in this period, such usage was quite natural.[107] Aside from the Hebrew Scriptures, the writings of Homer and Virgil were most frequently employed as oracles and for magical purposes.[108] To cure ophthalmia one was instructed to write on a piece of paper, and hang around the neck as a phylactery this line from Homer, "Sun, that beholdeth all and heareth all."[109] Lucian tells of a similar procedure prescribed by Alexander of Abonoteichos to ward off a terrible pestilence in 166 A.D. A hexameter verse, promising the help of Apollo, was inscribed on doorways to guard against the disease. The remedy was used over a wide area and apparently regarded by the populace as effective.[110] Such use of passages from the classical "Scriptures" was most frequent in the magical papyri.[111]

An Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the fifth century shows the practice in Christian circles at a time when the New Testament writings had become authorative Scripture. This formula shows an interesting combination of names and formulae with Scripture texts and other familiar features from our earlier period.

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[104] Heb. 1:3.

[105] Cf. Isa. 55:11.

[106] For the use of Scripture in Jewish Exorcism, see supra pp. 190-92.

[107] Case, ESECT, pp. 76-84; Stafford, Function of Divine Manifestations in NT Times, pp. 88-104 ; Stamm,"Function of Sacred Books in Early Christianity and the Graeco-Roman Religions."

[108] Wessely, in Denks., XLII,(1893-94), pp. 6-8 with quotations and sources in abundance.

[109] Marcellus, Burdigal, VIII, 58; Conybeare, in JQR, IX, (1896), p. 94 and n. 1.

[110] Lucian, Alexander, chaps. 36-48; cf. Dill, RSNA, p. 476, and n. 6.

[111] Heim,"Incantamenta magica graeco latina," Jahrbucher für Classische Philologie, Suppl. XIX, (1893), pp. 517-20.

> Fly, hateful spirit! Christ pursues thee; The Son of God and the Holy Spirit have outstripped thee. O God of the sheep pool, deliver from every evil thy handmaid Joannia whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him and without him was not anything made that hath been made. O Lord Christ, Son and Word of the living God, who healest every sickness and every infirmity, heal and regard thy handmaid Joannia whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare, chase from her and put to flight all fevers, and every kind of chill, quotidian, tertian, and quartan, and every evil. Pray through intercession of our lady the mother of God and the glorious archangels and Saint John, the glorious apostle and evangelist and divine, and Saint Serenus and Saint Philoxenus and Saint Victor and Saint Justus and all the Saints. Upon thy name, O Lord God, have I called, the wonderful and exceeding glorious name, the terror of thy foes. Amen.[112]

I. Supplementary Procedures

An additional feature of many exorcisms was the utterance of the name of the demon. Much less attention is given to this in the sources than to the names of deities and other expulsive powers. While it was obviously quite desirable to know the names of all evil spirits, it was far more difficult a task than to know the names of beneficent powers to invoke against them. In Tobit, the Gospels, the Testament of Solomon, and talmudic materials we find the use of demonic names.[113] In the Aramaic texts from Nippur it is customary to find formulae for protection against classifications of evil spirits that are listed without mention of any individual names. Text No. 16 illustrates this method.

> And in his great name, whereby the holy God is called... which suppresses darkness under light, plague under healing, destruction under construction, injury under ban, anger under repose: suppressed are all the sons of darkness under the throne of God, in whose (?) name (8) are bound, suppressed

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[112] Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyr. Pap., Vol. VIII, No. 1151, quoted by Milligan, Here and There among the Papyri, pp. 150 f.,

[113] Cf. supra, pp. **204 f.** In the Aramaic texts some examples are found but it is by no means general.

> Devils; gripped likewsie are evil spirits and impious Amulet-spirits and Names and Princes of (9) darkness and the Spirit (breath) of foulness and fatigue and the Tormentors of night and day and Curses and necklace-charms and Words and Adjurations (10) and Knockings and Rites, the Plague and the she-Plague and the voice of Invocation, and the Spell of poverty and Demons and Devils and Satans (11) and Idol-spirits and Liliths and Arts and mighty Works and the seven Tormenters of night and day. They are bound, suppressed and laid, (12) away from Dadbeh, etc. [as in lines 1 ff.], (13) and from all their house and from their property and from all their abode, from this day forever. Amen, Amen, (14) Selah. "And YHWH said to Satan," etc.[114]

A syriac charm gives a combined list of various kinds of evil spirits and diseases to be exorcised.

> Exorcised, etc. be "all demons, devils, phantoms, every practice, all temptations, unclean spirits, cruel dreams, dark apparitions; fear and trembling, terror and surprise, dread, anxiety, excessive weeping; fever-panic tertian fever, all kinds of fever, febrile ills, inflammations, etc.; when a child troubles its mother with pains of travail; tumors, pestilences, ...all pains and sicknesses, all wounds and all oppositions, surprises, revenges; ...the nine sicknesses, etc.[115]

In Roman formulae the diseases were sometimes addressed directly as though identified with the demons. Marcellus gives a charm for gout which runs, "Away, away from my feet and from all my limbs, gout and every muscular pain."[116] For colic the following praxis was recommended, "Take an iron ring, make it octagonal, and inscribe it with the words: 'Flee, flee, gall of poison, the crested lark is after thee.'"[117] In one of Leemans' papyri is the address, "I adjure you fire-demon."[118]

In the papyri the tendency was away from the mention of individual names to the more inclusive generalized classifications. There are, however, some cases of specific names, especially in materials taken from Oriental sources.[119] But in the syncretistic cosmopolitanism of the imperial age it was increasingly difficult for the exorcist to know all the individual demons that might be encountered. Those of unique prestige such as Jesus and Solomon could force them to reveal their identity. But others of less authority must for the most part be content to gather the names of powerful deities on the one hand and all possible kinds of demons on the other, and put their trust in striking the right foe with such broadside attacks. A more concentrated offensive could be made where there was a certainty as to the kind of disease or problem to be conquered. For example, there were charms against thieves and robbers,[120] against dreams,[121] against fears,[122] and against sun, moon, planets and stars,[123] in addition to the usual type for diseases. A British Museum papyrus has as an amulet an inscribed plate which serves somewhat the purpose of a signed blank check: there is a place for writing in the particular object or need as the occasion may demand.[124] In a Paris papyrus the sins caused by indwelling demons are listed with the other

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[114] Montgomery, *AITN*, pp. 188 f.

[115] Gollancz, *Actes du 11-ieme Congres des Oreintalistes*, sec. 4, p. 77; Montgomery, *AITN*, pp. 91 f. and n. 141; see p. 92 for a similar formula from Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, (ed. by Sokolovsky, **Moscow,** 1893), I, 132.

[116] Marcellus, *De Medicina*, XXXVI, in Burriss, *TMS*, p. 181 and n. 8.

[117] Alexander of Tralles, p. 377; quoted by Conybeare in *JQR*, IX, (1896), p. 95 and n. 3.

[118] Leemans, Pap. W., p. 7a, lines 40 ff., *op. cit.*, p. 105. Cf. the Persian formula in the Vendidad, 20:7: "I conjure thee, disease! I conjure thee, death! I conjure thee, burning! I conjure thee, fever! I conjure thee, headache! ...I conjure thee, smallpox(?)!"

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quoted by Casartelli, "Disease and Medicine (Persian)," *ERE*, IV, 758b.

[119] *See* e.g. Paris MS 2316, Leaf 432, in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 298 ff. Cf. Montgomery, AITN, pp. 89-97.

[120] Wessely, *Denks*. XLII, (1893), line 378, Intro. p. 10; Cf. *ibid.*, (1889); Kenyon *GPBM*, (1893), Pap. XLVI, lines 70-95, 172-201, 293-303, pp. 64 f., 70 f., 74.

[121] Wessely, *Denks*. XLII, pp. 31, 39 (lines 598 ff.)

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 25; Dieterich, *Abraxas*, pp. 86 f.; Tambornino, *De Antiquorum Daemonismo*, pp. 58, 65 f.; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 92 and n. 142.

[123] Pap. CXXI, lines 292-312, fol. 15 to line 1377, in Wessely, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f., 32, n.; Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 131-43, 222-31, ed. by Parthey, *Zwei gr. Zaub. Pap.*, (1865); Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 23; cf. *Virgil, 8th Bucolic*; Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*, p. 246.

[124] Kenyon, *GPBM*, No. XLVI, (4th cent.), lines 304-69, pp. 74-77, cf. pp. 64 f. for intro. note.

objects of exorcism.[125]

Some Gnostic documents applied the principle of calling the names of demons to insure a happy future destiny for the soul.

> In the τεύχεα Σωτῆρες ...it is said by Jesus Himself, that if the soul who is being tormented, in Outer Darkness, remembers to utter but one of the twelve names of this Outer Darkness (which is represented as a great dragon), the Outer Darkness shall literally vomit him forth, and he will be caught up by angels and taken to a place of purification.[126]

Formulae were far more efficacious in expelling demons if uttered in their original languages. Origen refers to the current belief in the greater power of names when spoken in the proper tongue and shows his own faith in it. In his discussion of the terms Sabaoth, Adonai and others applied to the Deity he says,

> These names, accordingly, when pronounced with the attendant train of circumstances which is appropriate to their nature, are possessed of great power; and other names, again, current in the Egyptian tongue, are efficacious against certain demons who can only do certain things; and other names in the Persian language have corresponding power over other spirits; and so on in every individual nation, for different purposes. And thus it will be found that, of the various demons upon the earth, to whom different localities have been assigned, each one bears a name appropriate to the several dialects of place and country.[127]

A formula involving the use of a variety of names reveals this care in using the original tongue. In the midst of his adjuration the exorcist inserts the statement, "I am he who invokes thee in the Syrian tongue as the great god *Zaalaer iphphou* and do thou not disregard the sound in Hebrew *ablanathanalba abrasiloa*."[128] One of Leemans' texts gives the Egyptian, Hebrew and Greek forms of the name of the deity invoked.[129]

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[125] Wessely, *Denks.*, XXXVI, p. 81, lines 1443 ff.; Montgomery, *AITN*, p. 87 and n. 116.

[126] Legge in *PSBA*, XXIII,(1901),pp. 43 f. For source, *see* Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*,(Leipzig, 1925), pp. 332 f. (Copt).

[127] Origen, *Cels6*, I, 24. Trans. in *ANF*, IV, 406.

[128] Lond. Pap. XLVI., cf. *supra*, p. 404, n.84 for fuller quotation.

[129] Leemans, Pap. V, col. 8a, lines 14-17; *op. cit.*, p. 29;

J. Miscellaneous Methods

A great variety of detailed practices was sometimes employed in dealing with demons in addition to the major methods. Some of these probably were used chiefly by exorcists but others became generally known and formed part of the popular pharmacopeia. In this brief summary no attempt will be made to distinguish carefully between professional and popular usages.

Apollonius freed Ephesus from a raging plague by encouraging the people to stone to death a demon in the guise of an old blind beggar. After they had heaped a great cairn of stones upon him, they removed them and discovered the carcass of a hound, like a Molossian dog but as large as a lion.[130] In the expulsion of the demon from the demoniac youth (above cited, p.408), Apollonius' steady gaze penetrated to the demon causing him to cry out in fear and rage. This is a case of using the eyes for a benevolent purpose, as opposed to the harm done by those who cast spells with the "evil eye." The people of Ephesus first recognized in the old man a demon when they saw the characteristic demonic flash in his eyes.

Apollonius was credited with ridding Constantinople of a plague of flies by means of a bronze fly that expelled them; and likewise of gnats by making one of bronze.[131] At Antioch he cleared the city of scorpions by burying under a small pillar a bronze image of this pest, which he had made.[132]

"According to the Egyptians Φνωεαι, Ιαβωκ ; according to the Jews Αδωναιε, Σαβαωθ ; according to the Greeks ὁ πάντων μόναρχος, Βασιλευς ." See also Conybeare, in *JQR*, IX, (1896), pp. 90 f. and n. 5; Anrich, *Das Antike Mysterienwesen*, (Gottingen, 1894), p. 96.

[130] Philcstratus, *Apoll.*, IV, 10; cf. VIII, 7.

[131] Frazer, *GB*, *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, II, 281 and n. 2; from Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1895), p. 265.

[132] Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 f.; Source: J.Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L.Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), p. 264.

According to Pliny the following charm was effective for a scorpion bite: "You at once whisper into the ear of a jackass: 'A scorpion has stung me;' and the pain will be immediately transferred, into the animal."[133] A liver disease could be driven into a green lizard, if the reptile was caught and handled according to certain specifications, and then addressed thus: "Behold, I will let you go alive. See that, no matter what I eat, my liver shall give me no trouble."[134] Blowing with the breath was also employed to drive away disease demons, being accompanied in some cases by a spoken formula.[135]

The efficacy of some charms and formulae was greatly increased by repetition: three, seven or nine times, or some multiple of these numbers.[136] Some of the Nippur texts have the exorcism formulae in the unique form of a writ of divorce of the demon from the victim.[137] To keep a ghost "laid" it was necessary to be sure that the bones of the deceased had proper burial.[138]

Fumigation was used in driving out demons in private as well as public practices.[139] Justin mentions it along with incantations, thereby suggesting that it probably had considerable vogue in his day.[140] In the conversation between Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai and a Gentile on methods of exorcism, the latter describes their procedure as follows; "Roots are taken and smoked under him (the possessed), and he is surrounded with water, whereupon the spirit flees."[141] Hence the procedure was known and used by Jews and Gentiles alike,[142] though its frequency is somewhat uncertain.

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[133] Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 155; Conybeare in JQR, IX, (1896), p.96.
[134] Marcellus XXII, 11; Conybeare, loc. cit.
[135] Origen, Cels., I, 68; supra, p.393 and n. 38.
[136] Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 4, cf. all of this Book; XXX, 17; cf. Fowler, RERP, pp. 58 f. and sources.
[137] Montgomery, Text Nos. 8, 11, 17, pp. 158 f., 170, 190 f.
[138] Pliny the Younger, Ep., VII, 27; Lucian, Philopseudes,
[139] For such usage in the official Roman rites, cf. supra, pp. 335-37.
[140] Justin, Dial. c. Trypho, chap. LXXXV.
[141] Pesikta, 40a and parallels, see supra, pp.209 ff for fuller quotation.

Iron was generally regarded as a powerful apotropaic agent in the ancient world. Add to this the magical efficacy of the action of driving a nail, and the effect was doubly potent. Hence pestilences and other diseases were often nailed down to stop their ravages.[143] Pliny says that an epileptic could be cured by driving a nail into the spot where he had fallen.[144]

The history of surgery reveals the fact that the trephining of skulls was often practiced in early times. Some modern authorities think a probable purpose of this operation was to let out the demons responsible for headache, epilepsy, and other ailments.[145]

The use of a knife along with other procedures is shown in a Magical Roman cure for a dislocated bone.

> If a bone was dislocated, a cabbage poultice was applied; and if this failed magic was used during manipulations. A green rod, four or five feet long, cleft through the middle, was used as a conjuring rod; and while the patient was held by two men, the following incantation was recited and repeated: "moetas vaeta daries dardaries asiadarides una petes," or "motas vaeta daries dardares astataries dissunapiter." If this failed, another incantation suggestive of more violent manipulation was spoken and repeated: "huat hauat huat ista pista sista dannabo dannaustra," or "huat haut haut istasis tarsis ardannabou dannaustra."[146]

Protective value against evil spirits was found in inscribed laurel leaves,[147] rings,[148] stones,[149] olive leaves with signs of the zodiac or powerful words written on them,[150] and a potent charm formed by the mixture of a baby's heart, the blood of a dead maiden, and the carrion of a dog.[151] In a papyrus formula an exorcism is even performed in the name of the four boundaries of the universe.[152] So thoroughly was the "science" of expelling spirits developed that certain days were far more favorable for its successful operation than others.[153]

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[142] *Supra*, pp.209-12 for Jewish practices. The apotropaic function of incense in official rites, widespread in the ancient world, has been considered briefly; see *supra* pp. 341 f. and sources.

[143] Livy, VII, 1-3; VIII, 18; IX, 28; Frazer, *GB.*, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 65-67.

[144] Pliny, *NH*, XXVIII, 17.

[145] *See* Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times*, p. 8 and sources.

[146] Cato, *De Agricultura*, chap. CLX, trans. in Jayne, *HGAC*, p. 406; cf. Pliny, *NH*, XX, 33-36; cf. Heim, "Incantamenta magica Graeca Latina," *Jahab. fur cl. Phil.*, Suppl. XIX, (1893), p. 534.

[147] Berlin Pap. No. 1, esp. lines 263-76, Parthey, *op. cit.*, (1865), pp. 127 f.

[148] Pliny, *NH*, XXX, 17; Lucian, *Philopseudes*, chaps. 22-24

[149] Berlin Pap. No. 1, lines 143-62.

In some instances the praxis involved a very complex series of acts, objects and formulae. A Berlin papyrus gives directions for making and using a potent amulet. On one side of the stone is to be inscribed the figure of a lion-headed steer, with part of a man's body; in the left hand are to be a ball and a scourge; encircling this, a serpent with its tail in its mouth. On the other side is to be inscribed the magical name: "souesolyrphthemoth." The stone is to be fastened by an Anubian thread through a hole and hung around the neck. A formula is to be pronounced to a star which has just fallen from heaven, to secure his divine name for further use, etc.[154] This, though not the complete procedure, gives an idea as to the complexity in some cases. There are many others[155] of similar import, showing the results of a long and syncretistic process of development. They also bear testimony to the tremendous importance of finding effective means for safeguarding humanity against all demonic ills.

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[150] Pap. No. CXXI, lines 869-88; Wessely, *Denks.* XLII, p.49.

[151] Wessely, *Denks.* XXXVI, (1888), p. 85, lines 2577 ff., p. 86, lines 2645 ff.; Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, p. 135 and n. 23.

[152] Wessely, (1893), Pap. CXXI, lines 489 f., p. 36:

[153] Montgomery, *AITN*, pp. 55 f. and nn. with sources.

[154] Berlin Pap. *No.* 1, lines 143-62, ed. Parthey, *op. cit.*, (1865); cf. lines 263-347; Pap V, col. 8a, lines 24-33, Leemans, *op. cit.* pp. 29 f.

[155] The works frequently referred to by Parthey, Wessely, Leemans, Reitzenstein and Dieterich are filled with numerous examples of complex practices.

Summary of Roman Exorcism

Our survey has brought out the following summary facts regarding exorcism in the Roman world.

1. Exorcism was practiced in some form for many centuries in Roman history, both before and after the first century.

2. It was in use among native Romans and immigrant stocks from Greece and Oriental lands.

3. The apotropaic or the exorcistic element was involved in much of the official Roman ritual, in the ceremonies of the Mystery Religions and other imported cults, and in the private practices of professional exorcists.

4. Methods varied greatly in these different groups.

5. These practices were all built around a central attitude of supernaturalism. Both cause and cure of the various ailments were of superhuman character. Every method employed must in some way bring tc bear a divine power superior to the attacking demonic spirit. Many detailed plans were used but all depended for their efficacy upon the application of the power of a superior deity.

6. The official attitude of the political authorities toward all who practiced magic arts was one of bitter hostility, because of the possible dangers to the reigning emperor from these men who possessed such occult knowledge.

7. In the increasing complexity and cosmopolitanism of the imperial period, with its stress upon the needs of the individual, the old official methods of the Roman religion proved more and more inadequate to safeguard society against its invisible foes. Both the Mystery Cults and the independent exorcists were more flexible and their methods better suited to the changing needs

of individuals. Hence, these grew in favor, as compared with the old Roman religion, especially among the people of foreign extraction. Nevertheless, the rites of the latter continued in use for centuries among the conservative old Roman stock.

8. There was a noticeable trend toward syncretism in the methods of demonic control during this period, to meet the needs of a cosmopolitan population. This was most characteristic of the activities of the professional exorcists.

9. The most adequate and permanent type of mastery over evil powers was offered by the Mystery Cults in their guarantee of realistic unity with the deity whose presence banished every demon in this present life and assured conquest over them in a blessed immortality.

10. People in the first century looked to religion for release from hostile demons and those cults which were most adequately meeting the vital religious needs of the time were successfully performing this important function.

PART IV

THE GOSPEL OF MARK

CHAPTER XI

MARKAN EXORCISM: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR HEALTH

Our study thus far has shown that the people of the first century world were living in an atmosphere of constant fear of invisible but powerful forces of evil. This prevalent dread of demons permeated practically all circles - Jewish and Gentile, rich and poor, slave and free, - from the emperor to his lowest subject. Our survey has also shown that the more aggressive and successful religious groups were tremendously concerned with meeting this practical problem: that the task of conquering these demons was a recognized function of religion. A great variety of apotropaic and expulsive techniques had been developed in the various cults and by private individuals to insure freedom from these hostile spirits. We have seen that Christianity from its inception was very vigorous in its practice of exorcism and its claims to supreme mastery over all evil powers. We have noted that the Gospel of Mark, the first of our extant gospel records, pictures the career of Jesus primarily in terms of his victorious mastery over evil spirits.

In the light of these facts we now face our major problem: What vital needs did this Markan message satisfy for its recipients? What specific values did this interpretation of Jesus have for them? How did it contribute to more worthful and abundant living? What assurances did it give of greater physical well-being? How did it enrich the individual's outlook on life? How did it help people to realize more wholesome economic and social relationships? In what ways did their relations with the state become more meaningful? How did it help them to work out friendly and satisfactory relations with the environing cosmic powers? How did it enhance religious experience for the individual and the group? In a word, we are interested in the fundamental human values, for the first century Roman world, that were inherent in the Markan message of Jesus' mastery over the powers of evil.

The first of the basic values offered by the Gospel of Mark to its readers was the assurance of physical and mental health. The universal quest for wholeness of body and mind was very urgent in first century Roman society. Men felt an ever-present need for release from disease, pain and suffering. Political, social and economic factors had made a combined onslaught upon the physical well-being of the common people.[1] The prevalence of crime and political disorder during the awful days of the Neronic terror made for great physical and emotional instability among all classes. The current restlessness and discontent, added to the insecurity of life and property, intensified the atmosphere of fear which was widespread among the lower classes. The economic instability, based upon inadequate incomes and chronic unemployment, also took a heavy toll of health and happiness particularly in the form of malnutrition among the children. Life in the poorly lighted and ill-ventilated apartments of congested tenement districts was beset with many further perils to health. Frequent fires and floods, with occasional earthquakes, famines and plagues increased the menace to physical welfare.

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[1] Cf. supra, pp.241 ff with sources for a fuller discussion of these conditions.

The great mobility of large numbers of the population of Rome, with the accompanying need for constant readjustment to new conditions, made for nervous instability. The lack of a satisfactory social and economic status, which resulted in a feeling of frustration, defeat and social inferiority, also brought many physical and nervous ailments. In such a soil the phenomena of possession and allied ills inevitably grew. They were intensified by the paralyzing dread of environing cosmic powers which permeated the minds of the masses.

All of these conditions reveal a tremendous need for healing of body and mind. They also show the necessity for divine agencies of healing, since the sources of these ailments were conceived to be superhuman. These various ills were among the ways in which the dreaded demonic hordes plagued and ravaged human society.[2] More powerful beneficent superhuman forces must be invoked to insure the conquest of these deadly diseasebearing demons. The methods employed by Judaism and various Gentile cults to insure physical well being have already been considered.[3] They show clearly that the chief religions of the first century recognized and strove to meet their responsibility of satisfying this basic human need. To show how the divine founder of the Christian movement had met and could meet this need most adequately was one of the major purposes of the Gospel of Mark.

A. Its Hero a Great Historical Character

The author presents his picture of Jesus as the master physician who brought healing to all in need. His career is set forth in a succession of colorful and dramatic events, leading surely and swiftly to the tragedy of the crucifixion. The writer depicts graphically the remarkable and rapidly-won popularity of his hero with the multitudes, and over against it the bitter opposition of religious and political leaders who were eager to do away with him. At every step, from his baptism to the cross he was beset by Satan or his demonic forces, singly or in great numbers, but all were powerless before him. His death was brought about by an unholy alliance of his human and demonic enemies. But even this did not destroy or hamper his beneficent activities for humankind. After his death, as a reward for a life of exemplary piety and mighty miracles, he was raised to divine rank in heaven.[4] From this exalted position he continues permanently to guarantee to his loyal devotees a sure victory over all demonic ills. His death thus proved to be, not his defeat at the hands of Satan,[5] but the open doorway to a greater triumph over his demonic foes.

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[2] See Case, Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times (New York, 1929), Ch. VII for a fuller discussion of the demonic origin of human ills. Cf. also Ch. VII supra.

[3] See supra, pp.420 f. for detailed facts and sources.

In the Markan picture of Jesus as a wonder-working hero the Roman readers find a familiar and potent appeal. The average Roman was a hero-worshipper, loyally devoted in his allegiance to the great figures who performed striking deeds of strength, skill or courage. This powerful hero-interest finds frequent and characteristic expression in the magnificent triumphs accorded Roman military heroes, and in the popular acclaim of favorite gladiators, charioteers, and other athletes and warriors who provided public amusements.

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[4] Cf. Acts 2:22-24,36 for another expression of this primitive Christology.

[5] Cf. supra, n.35,pp.10f.for a discussion of Satan as the one ultimately responsible for Jesus' death.

An interest which was so deeply rooted in popular favor as was Roman hero-worship inevitably affected religious ideas and attitudes also. This is amply attested by the significant place held by the cults of Greek and Oriental hero-gods in the first century world. These various cult-deities were revered as beneficent heroes who had endeared themselves to men by the great blessings they had bestowed upon mortals. Thus Dionysus was considered the founder of the arts of agriculture, Asklepios the father of the art of healing, and Heracles had performed twelve mighty feats that contributed greatly to human happiness. Other heroes had brought similar blessings to the human race. After death these great souls had been elevated to the rank of deity, from which exalted status they continued to bestow benefits upon their loyal devotees.

The author of our gospel is presenting the account of his hero-god to people quite familiar with these other cult-legends and beliefs. He does so with a firm conviction that Jesus is far superior to any of the other hero-deities. One strong element of this superiority lies in the fact of his unquestioned historicity. The deities of many of these other cults were either wholly legendary or shadowy figures of a remote antiquity. But the founder of the Christian cult was a genuinely historical figure. He had been a contemporary of the Emperor Tiberius during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. He had wrought his works of power during the lifetime of many who were still living. His marvelous deeds and his divinely-inspired personality had been attested repeatedly by friends and foes, by men and demons, and even by the Most High God. Those who put their trust in him were not following an imaginary character; they were giving their allegiance to a living reality, to an exalted deity who could guarantee their final conquest over all life's ills.

B. Attestations to His Divine Power and Personality

The author's accounts of Jesus' mighty words and deeds are buttressed by many indubitable testimonies to his divine status. In keeping with the first century demand for divine authentication of cult-founders, Mark shows that his hero's divine nature had been attested repeatedly. His whole career had been divinely authorized and directed. These attestations had come from many sources. They may be classified under three types, (1) human, (2) demonic and (3) divine.

I. Human Attestations

Before Jesus appears on the scene of activity his coming is predicted and his greatness proclaimed by John the Baptist. John himself is shown to be divinely authenticated: his mission is the direct fulfillment of divinely-inspired scriptural prophecies. Hence his testimony to Jesus is far more significant than that of a mere individual: it has divine authority behind it. John is the official announcer of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God, and the forerunner of Jesus who is to be its ruler. John boldly proclaims Jesus' superiority to himself,

> There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you in water; but he shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit.[6]

This prediction of spirit-baptism is a clear pronouncement of the divine spirit with which Jesus was to be endowed and the divine power which he would wield.

Throughout his public ministry Jesus' superhuman person and power were amply attested by those with whom he had contact. Without exception the sick and the demoniacs recognized his unusual ability to cure them.[7] The crowds who witnessed his mighty works of healing and exorcism were amazed at the power he wielded, even though they did not always fully understand its cause.[8]

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[6] Mark 1:8.

The attestation of Jesus' greatness by his disciples was far more significant than that of the multitudes, or those whom he healed. These men gave up their regular occupations and cast in their lot with him the moment he selected them to help carry out his great task. Apparently, as Mark understood the situation, no miracle was necessary to convince them that he was worthy of their fullest allegiance.[9] That their appreciation of his true theological status was very inadequate when he called them is certain, for it was much later when Peter first expressed his faith in the messianic dignity of the Master.[10] But there was a genuine recognition of a unique and masterful personality which impelled them to give up home and livelihood to become his associates. And eventually this fellowship with the Master led them to the conviction that he was God's chosen Messiah who would triumphantly conquer all enemies and inaugurate the new era of righteousness and peace.

Even the enemies of Jesus were forced to admit his unusual powers. His fellow-townsmen of Nazareth were astonished at his wisdom and his miracles, but unable to explain them.[11] The chief priests and scribes feared him because of his uncanny influence with the multitudes.[12] The Pharisees and the Herodians, though bitter in their antagonism, nevertheless admitted that he taught the way of God without fear or favor.[13] When the scribes came from Jerusalem to bring damaging charges against him they made no attempt to question the reality of his mighty exorcisms. They recognized that he worked under the influence of superhuman power, but they said it was satanic rather than divine.[14] They said that he was possessed by Beelzebub the demonic chief, and drove out the lesser spirits by his power. Here again Jesus' uniquesness is granted, however unsatisfactory the explanation of it.

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[7] Typical examples are the leper, 1:40; the friends of the paralytic, 2:3-5; the father of the possessed boy, 9:24; blind Bartimaeus, 10:46-52; the woman with the hemorrhage, 5:25-29; the possessed man in the Capernaum synagogue, 1:23 f.; the Gerasene demoniac, 5:6-8; all those with plagues and demons, 3:10 f. Some of the Nazarenes failed to give him adequate recognition, 6:2-6, but even they admitted the greatness of his miracles.

[8] Mark 1:22,27; 2:12; 5:42; 6:2; 7:37.

[9] Contrast Luke 5:1-11 where Jesus is shown performing a miracle to win the first four disciples; and John 1:35-51 where various types of testimony to his divinity are presented.

[10] Mark 8:29.

Even the government officials, men presumably free from undue emotion regarding a religious leader, and from any predilections in his favor, were profoundly impressed by Jesus' actions. Herod Antipas was amazed at the mighty forces which found expression in him, and concluded that he was more than a human being - he must be the re-incarnation of a great prophetic figure like John the Baptist,[15] Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea was notably impressed with Jesus' calm dignity and masterly bearing under the malicious accusations of his enemies.[16] He does not seem concerned, however, about giving it a theological interpretation. But the Roman centurion, the military officer in charge of the execution of Jesus, had more positive religious convictions about him. Witnessing Jesus' triumphant self-mastery in the hour of a cruel and agonizing death he exclaimed, "Surely this man was a son of God."[17] For this hardened Roman soldier, the victorious manner in which Jesus had faced the supreme enemy, death, proved his divinity.

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[11] Mark 6:2. Apparently they did not know of Jesus' endowment by the Holy Spirit at baptism. He had not been so endowed when they had known him in his earlier life.

[12] Mark 11:18.

[13] Mark 12:14. Perhaps there is a touch of sarcasm in their admission, but even so there is a clear recognition of Jesus' mastery of every situation.

[14] Mark 3:22-30.

[15] Mark 6:14.

[16] Mark 15:5,14.

Of all the great human beings who testified to the divine nature of Jesus the most significant were Moses and Elijah. These two ancient worthies of Hebrew religion, representing the Law and the Prophets respectively, descended from their exalted position in heaven to talk with Jesus on the mount of transfiguration.[18] The appearance of these great souls to the Master was a more signal honor than any mere human being could accord him. They had in reality become heavenly beings by their elevation to the realm of deity, hence there was heightened significance in their testimony. But to make it perfectly clear that his hero was here officially recognized by heaven, the author adds the account of the divine voice, "This is my beloved son: hear ye him."[19] He is to supersede even the mighty lawgiver and the most powerful of the prophets. He is the supreme and final expression of the divine will among men.

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[17] Mark 15:39; If Colwell is right in his interpretation of the use of the Greek article ("A Definite Rule for the Use of the Article in the Greek New Testament," JBL, LII (1933), pp. 12-21), we can translate, "Surely this man was the son of God" which makes the attestation even more significant.

[18] Mark 9:4.

[19] Mark 9:7. We are not here concerned with the historical problems involved in the transfiguration story, but in its values for Mark and his readers. Even though it may have represented the post-resurrection faith of the disciples, the above interpretation is not invalidated. Even that was in the distant past for our author.

II. Demonic Attestations

Testimony from human sources had a real value for the first century world, but it was far less weighty than that from superhuman sources. In the human attestations to Jesus above noted, it is clear that those of the deepest significance are the cases where the words of mortals are given the potent support and authentication of deity. Similarly it was the fact of the superhuman knowledge and power of the demons which made their testimony so meaningful to Mark and his readers. The author makes effective use of all this evidence in his presentation of Jesus' divinity and his conquest of these malicious hordes.

This feature is prominent in most of the cases of exorcism which he narrates in detail,[20] and also in his sweeping summaries of the expulsion of demons. The first public appearance of Jesus in his capacity of teacher and healer is in the synagogue at Capernaum. Suddenly a man possessed by a demon steps out and the evil spirit in him shrieks out, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus thou Nazarene? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God."[21] This bold testimony to Jesus' divine nature by the foul spirit becomes practically the standard form of demonic recognition of his divinity in all Mark's exorcism narratives. In some instances the confession reads, "Thou art the Son of God."[22] In the case of the Gerasene demoniac who was outside Jewish territory, Jesus is addressed as "Son of the Most High God,"[23] a clear recognition of his most intimate relationship to the God of the Jews. This seems to the author the appropriate salutation on Gentile soil.

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[20] The only exception is the possessed boy, Mark 9:14-27.
[21] Mark 1:24.
[22] Mark 3:11 f.; cf. Mark 1:34.
[23] Mark 5:7.

The variations in terminology in the different instances and summary statements are obviously unimportant. In all of them the fundamental facts are essentially the same. In every case the demon has superhuman knowledge of Jesus' divine nature. He is recognized by all as the son of the supreme deity. He is therefore also recognized as their deadly enemy. Because of his exalted divine status, he is more powerful than they. Hence they must do everything possible to escape defeat at his hands. Because of their fear in his presence they cringe before him, acknowledge his divinity and their impotence before him, and abjectly beg for mercy. As members of the hosts of Satan they are the sworn enemies of the forces of righteousness whom Jesus represents. Hence it is only under the most desperate circumstances that they would bear any testimony to the greatness of their divine conqueror. Since it is given with great reluctance, on these conditions, it becomes profoundly significant evidence in support of Jesus as an invincible deity.

III. Divine Attestations

The supreme proof of Jesus' divine status came in the form of testimony from God himself. The author makes clear to his readers that the Most High God had repeatedly, by word and deed, given His unqualified sanction to the person and mission of His Son. God had borne witness in the most impressive way at each of the great crises in Jesus' public career, from the baptism to the ascension. These attestations begin with Jesus' first public appearance, at the Jordan river. At the instant he came up out of the baptismal water the heavens were split open and the divine Spirit in the form of a dove descended and entered into him.[24] By this act of the deity Jesus became in the fullest sense of the term a divinely-inspired individual, a God-possessed personality. From this time forth, throughout his whole career, down to his death on the cross, the divine spirit continued to direct his activities. This initial experience at the outset of his public activity became the permanent and most significant form of divine authentication of Jesus' personality and mission. It was the key to any genuine understanding of his notable career of preaching, healing, and mastery of evil spirits.

But this endowment by the divine spirit was not the only form of divine authentication furnished at the time of Jesus' inauguration into his official responsibilities. It was supplemented by a voice from heaven which attested his divine sonship: "Thou art my beloved Son, my chosen."[25] This made clear the full import of the spirit-endowment which Jesus had just experienced. It shows that he was not merely a prophet. He was acknowledged as the Son of the Most High God. No doubt the voice came primarily to give this personal attestation to Jesus himself of the new exalted status to which he had been raised. He could now undertake the divinely appointed task with the fullest assurance of God's approval and power in its achievement. But there is apparently a secondary purpose which the author expected his readers to see in the incident. It was also a divine testimony, to John and the other bystanders, of Jesus' divinity.[26]

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[24] Mark 1:10.

[25] Mark 1:11.

[26] This aspect of testimony to the multitudes is much more clearly stressed by Matt., who puts the words spoken by the heavenly voice in the third person, "This is my beloved Son" (Matt. 3:17), where Mark uses the second person. But even so, it is probable that Mark sees in the event definite evidential value to others as well as Jesus.

Two other forms of divine attestation to Jesus are seen by the author in connection with the temptation experience. Immediately following the series of baptismal events, the Spirit drives[27] him out into the desolate regions where he is to encounter Satan. This reveals the fact that henceforth the divine Spirit in Jesus becomes dominant. During the temptation God also shows his vital concern for His Son by sending angels to care for his every need.[28]

At the time of Jesus' transfiguration, testimony again comes from heaven in the form of a voice. It repeats the earlier acknowledgment of Jesus' divine sonship, this time for the benefit of the three intimate disciples, Peter, James and John.[29] They are first shown that Jesus is worthy of a place of honor with Moses and Elijah, the most revered souls of Israel's history. Then the voice reveals Jesus' notable superiority to his two heavenly associates. He is more than the greatest of prophets and lawgivers. He is God's own Son whom men henceforth are to revere and follow as the supreme representative of deity upon earth.

As we shall see more in detail further on, Jesus' whole career was amply attested by heaven. But there are two other events of unusual import to be noted in this connection. They are the resurrection and the exaltation to heaven. After Jesus' earthly mission has been completed and he has been put to death on the cross, God shows His final approval and acceptance of His Son by raising him from the grave and exalting him to the place of supreme honor at His own right hand.[30] God has thus accorded him for all eternity the highest honor which He can ever bestow.

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[27] Mark 1:12. The author uses a very vigorous - even violent - word (ἐκβάλλει) in this connection, showing the spirit in complete control in the whole incident.

[28] Mark 1:13. Other aspects of the conflict with Satan are considered, infra, pp. 455-65.

[29] Mark 9:2-7.

Thus the writer has shown throughout his narrative that his great hero and Master has had the highest credentials that any cult-deity could attain. His person and work have had the unqualified attestation of great men, of the demonic forces whom he has conquered, and above all, that of the supreme deity of the universe. When we recall the tremendous importance of supernatural sanctions for a religious leader in the first century, we can appreciate the amazing assurance that such a message would carry to those to whom it first came. We can also realize how potent such evidence was in convincing people that this hero-divinity could guarantee their ultimate triumph over all superhuman foes.

C. Jesus' Career as Exorcist and Healer

With such testimony borne to his greatness, the readers of Mark are led to expect much in the way of achievement. In this they are not disappointed. Jesus' conquest of all satanic forces is shown to have been swift and decisive.

I. His Defeat of Satan

His first act after his endowment by the spirit at baptism was his contest with Satan. He had been accepted by God as His Son, commissioned as the official Messiah, and empowered for the fulfillment of his messianic functions by the divine spirit. His task was that of inaugurating the kingdom of God on earth. The spirit drove him out with a sense of great urgency in the accomplishment of this mission.[31] But the chief barrier to the establishment of the kingdom of God was the kingdom of Satan. This hierarchy of evil powers was sominant in the present regime.[32] So long as it continued in power the coming of the divine kingdom was impossible. Hence the primary task of the leader of the kingdom of God - the Messiah who was to rule over it - was the overthrow of the kingdom of evil

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[30] Mark 16:6,19 f. God's initiative in the resurrection and heavenly exaltation is clearly shown by the passive verb forms ἠγέρθη (v. 6) and ἀνελήμφθη (v. 19) as well as by the general atmosphere of the narrative. Of course the ascension story is from the late long conclusion of the gospel, but it is very probable that the same general point of view was set forth in the original ending. It is in keeping with other records of approximately the same period; cf. Acts 2:22-24,36; Matt. 28:6,18; Luke 24:6,51.

Jesus, impelled by the Spirit within him, immediately launched his campaign against Satan, the king of these hosts of evil. He engaged in a bold offensive, invading the stronghold of the enemy where he was surrounded by his allies.[33] Of the details of the encounter, Mark is silent. He here tells us nothing specifically as to the way in which Satan attempted to entrap Jesus or to save himself. The author is not concerned with a presentation of these incidents as personal problems of Jesus. He is interested in setting forth the official significance of his words and deeds. He is concerned with showing the authority which Jesus exercised in the performance of his mission. But from the general situation and other indications we can see pretty clearly what it meant to our author.

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[31] This note of the imminence of the coming of the kingdom of God and the consequent urgency on the part of Jesus and his associates is characteristic of the Markan picture. The "text" of Jesus' preaching reflects it (Mark 1:;5), also 6:7-13; 9:1; ch. 13, and in fact the whole tone of the book.

[32] Cf. *supra*, pp.142-60 for a fuller discussion of the hierarchy of evil; also *infra*, pp.528-28 for political aspects which are here disregarded.

[33] Mark 1:12 f. For the desert as the dwelling place of demons cf. *supra*, pp. 87-89 . For the relationship of wild beasts and demons, cf. Ps. 91:13; Isa. 34:11ff.; Test. XII. Patr., Naph. 8, Is . 7, Benj. 5; Conybeare, *JQR*, IX (1896), p. 100; and *supra*, pp. 89 f. with sources.

He tells us that Jesus was "tempted" by Satan. What did this mean? Evidently Satan, by his superhuman knowledge, recognized Jesus' exalted position and the work he was setting out to accomplish. He no doubt also realized that Jesus' success would mean his own downfall. With his position and his kingdom thus threatened he must use every possible artifice to thwart the fulfillment of the Messiah's program. His only hope of success would be to deceive Jesus into following a course of action which would seem to bring the fulfillment of his messianic hopes, but would in reality mean Satan's eventual triumph. He could not hope to turn Jesus from his fundamental mission as Messiah. But perhaps he could influence him to interpret the messianic program in such a way as to realize his own ends in the final outcome.

Evidence from several sources suggest that the "temptation" of Satan was his attempt to persuade Jesus to establish a political kingdom by means of armed force. One of the three temptations according to the "Logia" source of Matthew and Luke was exactly this. "Again, the devil taketh him unto an exceeding high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and he said unto him, all these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me."[34] The method of military conquest had been attempted by messianic aspirants before the time of Jesus and was to be followed by others after him. To many this seemed the obvious and inevitable program to inaugurate.[35] But neither the general historical situation nor the fact of such an interpretation by other Christian writers proves definitely that the temptation meant this to Mark, though they do show that this interpretation was quite normal at the time.[36]

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[34] Matt. 4:8 f.; cf. Luke 4:5-7.

[35] Historically it seems quite probable that Jesus did face seriously the question as to whether to adopt the Zealot program. But our interest here is not in historicity, rather it is in understanding the author's interpretation of the event.

Our author himself, however, shows that he did understand the temptation as Satan's effort to lead Jesus to the adoption of a militaristic program in the establishment of his kingdom. In his narration of the incident near Caesarea Philippi, when Peter first expressed his faith in Jesus' messiahship, this point of view comes out clearly. Jesus reponded to Peter's "confession" with a stern injunction to all the disciples to keep this knowledge a strict secret. Then at once

> ...he began to teach them, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. And he spake the saying openly. And Peter took him and began to rebuke him. But he turning about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith, Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men.[37]

Jesus was explaining to them that his messiahship was one which would involve his suffering and death. Such a conception was unthinkable to Peter. For the Messiah to be defeated and slain was a contradiction in terms too unreasonable to be considered for a moment. The Messiah must be a great conquering hero. He must raise a victorious army and drive the hated foreign despots from the Holy Land. He must reign in triumph after having subjected all his enemies by the power of the sword. This was the role which the impetuous Peter expected his Master to play. This was what he meant when he expressed his conviction that Jesus was the Messiah. He was to be the long-expected deliverer of his people from a galling Roman tyranny.[38]

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[36] The question as to whether Mark knew or used "Q" has no decisive bearing on the problem. There is no justification for the oft-assumed attitude that documents were the ultimate source of early Christian ideas. No one as familiar with early Christian history as was Mark could fail to be familiar with this nationalistic messianic concept. As we shall see, he gives ample evidence of familiarity with it.

[37] Mark 8:31-33. The parallel section in Matt. 16:22 adds these words of Peter, "Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall never be unto thee."

The reaction of the Master to this protest of his leading disciple is swift and violent. This is no new idea presented to him for the first time. It is an old enemy in a new guise. It is nothing less than the work of Satan himself. It is a renewal of the old attack which the arch-demon had launched against him at the beginning of his career. Satan is again attempting to intrigue him into this nationalistic program, this time through the lips of his chief disciple. With the coming of the suggestion there surges into the mind of Jesus all the terrible intensity of the old struggle in the wilderness. He forgets Peter and the other disciples. He sees only Satan and with a violent aversion, flashes back at him the stinging words, "Get thee behind me, Satan," He will not yield an inch to the wily tempter. He had made that momentous decision once for all at the outset of his career, and nothing could move him from it.

This conception of the temptation in the wilderness is clearly implied by the Caesarea incident. It really tells us more than does the account in the first chapter, both as to the nature and the outcome of the event. And it clearly shows that Satan was thereafter powerless to lead the Messiah astray. In the account of the wilderness experience Mark does not state specifically that Jesus emerged the victor. Why he fails to mention this we cannot say with certainty.[39] Perhaps he feels that it would be superfluous, that his readers can take it for granted. The repeated cases of exorcism show Jesus' decisive superiority over all of Satan's demonic associates whether met singly or in legions. Such consistent conquests would be very improbable unless Jesus had been victorious over their chief.

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[38] The whole story of the passion week and of the post-crucifixion experience of the disciples proves the prevalence of this type of hope among them.

But a more definite declaration of Jesus' victory is demanded by another incident; that in which Jesus is accused of expelling demons through collusion with Beelzebub. After showing the inconsistency of this charge he adds the significant words, "But no one can enter the house of the strong man, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house."[40] This is clearly a reference to his mastery over Satan, the head of the demonic household. Satan was the "strong man" whom Jesus had "bound" at the time of their initial encounter in the wilderness regions. Now he was completing the "spoiling of his house" by overcoming Satan's subordinates whenever he met them. And, in binding Satan and his hosts, Jesus was releasing human beings who had been bound[41] by these powers of evil.

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[39] It is possible that Mark would have regarded such a statement as premature since both he and his readers were well aware of the presence and power of Satan in their own time. But Satan's defeat would by no means necessarily imply his final annihilation, which Mark clearly shows will take place in the future. Hence this reason for the omission is very improbable.

[40] Mark 3:27.

[41] The idea of binding a person by the use of magic was familiar to the ancient world. Cf. Berlin Papyrus No. 1, line 101, in Parthey, Zwei Griechische Zauber Papyri, u.s.w.; Deissmann, New Light on the NT (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 85 ff. with sources; Mark 11:14. Exorcism often loosed those who had been bound by evil spirits. See Mark 7:35; Luke 4:18 ff.; Luke 13: 10-17.

Thus a careful reading of Mark's whole story[42] clearly shows us his conception of the nature of Jesus' temptation by Satan and his certainty of his triumph over the demonic chief.[43] This victory was a practical proof of Jesus' ability to master the satanic hordes, which he proceeds to do in the numerous exorcisms which follow.

II. Jesus' Versatility as Exorcist and Healer

1. Exorcisms *versus* Healings

Mark pictures vividly Jesus' mastery of all the demonic forces encountered in a strenuous public career.[44] He met many difficult, sometimes dangerous, situations but always came through them as conqueror.[45] The author shows no academic or technical interest in classifying these incidents, yet he indicates a general division into two chief types: (1) exorcism and (2) other healings. In so doing he is merely following the current practice of the time.[46]

The general distinction between the two types is quite clear though there are marginal cases that are hard to place. In general the more serious and permanent ailments, particularly those involving nervous and mental disturbances, were known as possession because they were produced by demons that dwelt in and controlled their victims. Epilepsy and insanity are two such examples of possession that are dealt with in Mark.[47] He also includes dumbness and deafness under this category but the victim was also epileptic.[48] Cases of possession required the exorcist's word of power to expel the intruding spirit in order to effect a cure.[49]

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[42] Another line of evidence in support of the initial victory of Jesus is found in the oft-repeated recognition by the demons of Jesus' power over them.

[43] For a consideration of the method used in overcoming Satan *see infra*, pp. 488 f.

[44] For a summary of the prominence of exorcism and healing in Jesus' ministry, presented chiefly according to the Markan scheme of chronology, *see supra*, pp. 4-14 f. The strategic importance of these activities in relation to each stage of his public activity is there noted. To avoid needless repetition most of this material is omitted from the present chapter.

[45] We are here considering only those events which are of significance for health, not all of Jesus' relations with all demonic powers, nor all of his "miracles."

[46] Cf. Mark 1:32-34; 3:10 f.; 6:13; 16:17 f.; Matt. 8:16; Luke 4:40 f.; 6:7-19; I Cor. 12:9 f.

Diseases of a less serious or violent nature were in a different category. They were not termed possession though they were in most if not all cases the result of demonic activity.[50] Markan examples of such diseases cured by Jesus are fever,[51] leprosy,[52] paralysis,[53] hemorrhage,[54] deafness and impediment in speech,[55] blindness,[56] and an unnamed illness which had proved fatal to the daughter of Jairus.[57] But it is extremely difficult if not impossible to say that none of these were regarded as cases of possession. Why should the author tell us that a boy who was deaf and dumb was possessed by a demon (which Jesus exorcised),[58] when a man who was deaf and had an impediment in his speech[59] was not so described nor cured in the same way? Are we to imply that the presence of the epileptic symptoms was the distinguishing mark of the demon's presence in such cases? Why should a case of dumbness and deafness[60] be considered one of possession, while blindness[61] - certainly as serious and as permanent - was not so regarded? This is the more difficult to understand in the light of the paralyzing dread of Shabriri the demon of blindness which permeated Jewish life.[62] The "cleansing" of the leper clearly suggests a rite of demonic riddance, particularly when we recall the exorcistic significance of the leper ritual in Judaism.[63] Fear of the fever-demon was also very prevalent in Jewish circles,[64] hence it would seem natural to attribute the illness of Peter's wife's mother[65] to such spirit-activity. Various kinds of paralysis and physical deformity were similarly brought on by demonic attacks, according to prevailing ideas of the first century,[66] and certainly there was a widespread fear of demons in connection with death.[67]

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[47] The epileptic boy (9:14-29) is a clear case of the former, the Gerasene maniac (5:1-20) of the latter. The man in the Capernaum synagogue (1:21-27) was also probably epileptic, and perhaps the daughter of the Syro-phoenician woman (7:24-30) though this is based on inference rather than direct evidence. The following pp. will show the exceptions to the general principle above stated.

[48] Mark 9:14-29.

[49] For a fuller discussion of technics, *see infra*, pp.465-80.

[50] Like some other NT writers, Mark is not wholly clear and consistent in his statements bearing on the causes of all disease. The demonic theory is clear with regard to possession. But some other ills are apparently looked upon as punishments for sin. *See* Mark 2:5; 3:10; 5:34; cf. John 9:2; Mechilta 80b; *Beresch.* rabba, c. 62; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (2 Aufl, Leipzig, 1897), pp. 322 f. for such conceptions in Judaism. The ancient Assyrian and Babylonians also considered some kinds of sickness and misfortune as punishment for sins; *see* Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), pp. 693 f. Herodotus tells us (I.138) that leprosy was thus considered among the Persians. *See also* Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (New Haven, 1925), pp. 184-87; Casartelli, "Disease and Medicine (Persian)," *ERE*, IV.758a. It is possible that the author would link this moral theory of diseases as scourges or plagues with the demonic by making the demons the agents of God's punishment. This, however, is mere conjecture. He may not even have seen the inconsistency between the two points of view. He was no logician concerned primarily with logical consistency; he was a practical religious leader dealing with vital problems of everyday life and he was profoundly convinced of the adequacy of his Master to banish these human ills.

[51] Mark 1:29-31.

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[52] Mark 1:40-45. We should add 14:3 if Jesus healed Simon the leper, unless he is the leper whose cure is related in chapter 1.

[53] Mark 2:1-12. Probably we should include here also the case of the man with the withered hand (3:1-6).

[54] Mark 5:25-34.

[55] Mark 7:31-37.

[56] Mark 8:22-26; 10:46-52.

[57] Mark 5:21-24,35-43.

[58] Mark 9:14-29.

[59] Mark 7:31-37.

[60] Mark 9:14-29.

[61] Mark 8:22-26; 10:46-52.

[62] Cf. supra, pp. 174 f. for sources.

[63] Mark 1:40-45. Cf. Lev. 14 and supra, pp. 121 f.

[64] See supra, pp. 175 f.

[65] Mark:29-31.

Thus we see that every kind of disease of the "non-possession" type which Jesus healed, according to our gospel accounts, was an ailment ordinarily attributed to demonic activity. Since then, both possession and these other diseases are brought on primarily by these evil spirit-forces, we must find our distinction between them at some other point than the presence of demonic influence. It cannot be merely the element of permanence that makes the difference, with possession permanent and the other diseases intermittent; for some of the second type, such as paralysis and blindness are not only as permanent but far more steady and continuous in their ill effects than epilepsy or even some types of insanity. Nor can we find the difference alone in the seriousness of the ailments, for some of the diseases are fully as destructive of health as are some types of possession.[68]

The real distinction that seems to separate Mark's cases of possession from other diseases is this: the possessed person was one who was so completely under the control of the demon that his personality was submerged by that of the spirit. His thoughts, words and actions were supplanted by those of the demon. He was no longer a real personality; he was literally "possessed" by his intruding spirit-guest. Therefore his whole way of life was demonic rather than human. Epilepsy, insanity and other ailments which forced the patient to engage in wild and violent actions would most naturally be interpreted as such possession. This is just what Mark has done, with the assurance that his readers would easily understand such a familiar distinction. But the dividing line between the two types was a shifting one. The difference was one of degree rather than of kind. For both the author and his readers would understand that the "non-possession" diseases were also the direct result of demonic attacks upon human welfare. And Mark was fundamentally concerned to show that the founder of the Christian movement had conquered all types of demons with ease, and restored their victims to health and happiness.

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[66] Cf. Luke 13:10-17 and supra, pp. 12 f.

[67] Mark 5:35-39; cf. supra, pp.122 f. for a consideration of this problem in Jewish life; and pp.310 f. for Roman life.

[68] If we take the statement that Jairus' daughter was dead as accurate (Mark 5;35), this point becomes even stronger.

2. Kinds of Demons Conquered

With this major interest permeating his stories of healings and exorcisms our author naturally shows no concern with theories of the origin and nature of demons. Neither Greek philosophical interest in their essence and functions nor Jewish legendary lore about their origin is found reflected in his narrative. He is also lacking in a desire to use technical terms with fine shades of meaning. For example, any attempt to find in his various terms "demon," "spirit," "unclean spirit," etc., such distinctive meanings, is purely a reading of our own ideas into the book.[69] The terms are used almost at random save where a particular expression or qualifying adjective (e.g. "dumb" spirit) is needed for definiteness. Often the variations simply express the writer's personal preference in his use of vocabulary.[70] Hence variations in terminology regarding these satanic spirits cannot be taken as a criterion for classifications of origin, nature or function; they occur primarily as the natural method of avoiding monotonous repetition.

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[69] To suggest, for example, that "unclean spirit" refers to a special type of impure spirit that frequented cemeteries, where no pure spirit would go, is to read the stories very superficially. Each of the four cases of individual exorcism recorded in detail has this term used at least once, and two of them use it three times each. In fact this seems to be his favorite term. But in three of the four cases, some other word (differing in each case) is also used three times each. And the account using "unclean spirit" exclusively is not that of the Gerasene demoniac. These terms vary naturally according to general appropriateness in each setting. The same principle holds of the various exorcism summaries in Mark.

It might seem easier to classify the spirits functionally than otherwise but even this is chiefly arbitrary and foreign to the gospel itself. About the only kind of such classification compatible with the author's purpose and interests is a general division, such as: (1) demons causing possession, (2) demons of a wide variety of physical ailments of the "non-possession" type, (3) demons of death, (4) demons operating in the realm of nature.[71] But here as always the technical is strictly subordinated to the practical values of Jesus' work.[72]

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[70] The suggestion that "evil spirits" and "unclean spirits" may correspond to mental and moral disorders respectively (Norton, The Rise of Christianity, p. 51) likewise cannot apply to Mark, for he does not make use of the former term.

[71] For a consideration of cosmic evil spirits, which are related to health only indirectly, see infra, pp. 529 f. Cf. Pfleiderer, Early Christian Conception of Christ (London, 1905), pp. 64 f.

[72] The question is often raised as to whether Jesus cured organic as well as functional diseases. It seems improbable that either Mark or his first readers would raise such an issue. A frank facing of the facts forces us to the conclusion that the data we possess are far too meager for anything remotely approaching a scientific answer. Most (probably all) of Mark's recorded cases are of ailments which might be purely functional. All of these ills were sometimes that. But some of them under certain circumstances might definitely be organic. Leprosy was a term applied to so many forms of skin disease of so many varied degrees of seriousness that a definite answer regarding any particular case cannot be given without more evidence than we have. Blindness, deafness, dumbness and paralysis likewise may be brought on by a variety of causes, either functional or organic. But if the author raised the question, which is very improbable, he was convinced that whatever the causes or forms of disease, Jesus was master of them.

3. Geographical Distribution of Jesus' Exorcism and Healing

In considering the relation of Jesus' healing activities to the geographical area traversed in his ministry, we are dealing with a theme that Mark deemed very important. He was keenly alert to the selection and presentation of materials that would show Jesus performing deeds of power in practically every region visited. The Master conquered Satan in the wilderness region of Judea near the Jordan. Then he called his first four disciples and went to the Capernaum synagogue where he performed his first recorded exorcism.[73] The same evening he drove out many more demons and healed a large number of patients suffering from a variety of diseases.[74] Then with the disciples he entered upon a tour of the surrounding communities of Galilee, preaching, exorcising and healing at practically every point touched.[75] Here he included also the smaller towns, and a little later the open country in his itinerary.

A short time later he made his first trip into Gentile territory. The one striking event there was the expulsion of the legion of demons from the raving Gerasene maniac.[76] Soon he sent out the disciples to preach and cast out demons throughout the communities of Galilee. Opposition then forced him to leave Galilee for a short time. He went to the regions of Tyre and Sidon where he drove out the demon from the pagan woman's daughter.[77] Of this second excursion on Gentile soil only this single but striking case of exorcism is mentioned. No other incident of the whole trip is recorded. Then immediately upon his return to Galilee he resumed his healing activities there. When

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[73] Mark 1:12-27.

[74] Mark 1:32-34.

[75] Mark 1:39.

[76] Mark 5:1-20.

[77] Mark 7:24-30.

Jesus and the disciples swung up into the territory of Herod Philip, Satan accompanied them and had to be driven from their group.[78] Then, immediately following the transfiguration experience on the mountain top (which occurred soon after the Caesarea Philippi incident) he expelled the violent deaf and dumb spirit from the epileptic boy.[79]

Up to this point in Jesus' career which is practically at the close of the Galilean ministry, every new step of the geographical extension of his work had been characterized by great deeds of power in freeing men from the domination of demons. The remainder of the narrative, covering the Judean ministry, contains no such specific incidents. As we have already noticed,[80] the events of these days were tense with Jesus' impending conflict with Satan and his human allies, which culminated in the crucifixion and the resurrection experiences. But exorcistic activities such as fill the story of the ministry in Galilee are wholly lacking here.[81] Why this total absence of exorcism and healing in Jerusalem?[82] It has sometimes been suggested that Mark should have known more about any such deeds in his home city than elsewhere. If he knew of them he failed to record them.[83] Their absence is probably to be explained by the following reasons: (1) During the whole trip from Galilee to Jerusalem, Jesus was primarily engaged in an intensive training of the disciples for the responsibilities soon to fall upon them. For this he desired the greatest possible privacy and freedom from distractions. Hence they avoided the crowds as much as possible. (2) When they arrived in Jerusalem he was too concerned with his personal problems, and the continued training of the twelve for the permanent perpetuation of his work, to devote attention to healing activities He was preparing for his last earthly struggle with Satan and the supreme victory here was far more important for the permanent welfare of humanity than a few exorcisms could have been. (3) The time spent in Jerusalem was so short in comparison with his work in Galilee that we should expect but few if any healings here,[84] especially in view of his preoccupation with other weighty matters. (4) The hostility in Jerusalem was far more bitter than it had been in Galilee. Here the leaders of the sacerdotal, ritualistic, legalistic system of Judaism would keenly resent any interference with their special prerogatives by an (officially) unqualified independent teacher and healer. In an atmosphere

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[78] Mark 8:27-33. Cf. *supra*, pp. 440-45.

[79] Mark 9:14-29.

[80] *Supra*, pp. 9-11 and n.35, pp. 10 f.

[81] Matt. 19:1 f. tells of Jesus' healing of the multitudes who came to him in "the borders of Judea beyond the Jordan," but the Markan source of the main narrative (10:1) has no mention of healing. It might be suggested that the casting of the money-changers out of the temple is a form of exorcism. This may be justified if interpreted in a most general sense as a victory over evil forces, but it cannot be classed with the exorcistic healings.

[82] Again Matt. 21:14-16 has an editorial statement asserting that Jesus healed the blind and the lame who came to him in the temple. But the Markan source is silent regarding it. We need also to note that the accounts of the disciples' healings and exorcisms recorded in the long conclusion of our gospel (16:17-20) are also in a different category. The reference to Jesus' expulsion of seven demons from Mary Magdalene (16:9) is neutral from the geographical point of view, but Luke 8:1-3 (the probable source for the Mark statement) places it in the Galilean ministry. The incident in which the chief priests, the scribes and the elders challenge Jesus' authority (11:27-33), doubtless refers to activities of healing and exorcism but there is no definite proof

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that they had occurred in Jerusalem. These people were already familiar with such works of his; cf. Mark 3:6,22 ff.

[83] It is possible that Mark had a different source for his Jerusalem narratives, a source representing a less favorable attitude toward exorcism than his Galilean source(s). But this explanation is very improbable. None of the gospel accounts report significant exorcistic activity in Jerusalem. If there were strong traditions favoring it they should be reflected in some of our records.

[84] Of course the author may have known of such stories but failed to record them because they seemed intrusions in the more important drama daily being enacted in the capital city.

charged with such antagonism there would be little of the faith necessary for such healings. Perhaps the author also wished to show that the people at the heart of official Judaism were unworthy of Jesus' beneficence.[85] Hence, for these various reasons, the omission of exorcistic activities in Jerusalem was no real barrier to Jesus' significance as a conqueror of demonic forces.

What meaning would Mark's emphasis upon this geographical distribution of healing practices have for his readers? At least two elements would impress the careful reader. (1) In the first place it showed Jesus' deep concern for relieving human suffering wherever he went. He was the Master Physician who had brought health and happiness to people everywhere. He cared tremendously for all human beings, whatever their needs.[86] (2) Secondly, this Markan picture proved Jesus' power as a universal deity. No geographical barrier could limit his power to help needy humanity. Members of all races and lands were gladly freed from demonic oppression by this great healer.[87] He was no national Jewish hero-deity, interested merely in his own people. He was in truth a universal god able to guarantee the blessings of health to all. His record of demonic conquests had proved his superiority to all other deities,[88] and shown him worthy of the loyal allegiance of all in need.

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[85] Historically it seems probable that the people of Galilee furnished a better soil for exorcistic practices than those of Jerusalem, for two reasons: (1) Galilee was more subject to political and other disturbances, hence there was psychologically, probably greater emotional instability, hence more cases of "possession." (2) Galilee was more open to Gentile influences, more cosmopolitan in population, and less bound by ritualism and legalism in religious practices. They would not have regarded exorcistic activities as a serious violation of the Law as did the religious officials of Jerusalem. Cf. Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth (New York, 1925), p. 266; Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, 2 vols. (London, 1909), I, 66 and sources; Loewe, "Demons and Spirits (Jewish)," ERE, IV, 612 f. But Mark does not indicate specifically any such reasons for his omissions.

[86] It might be objected that the story of the expulsion of the demon from the Syrophoenician girl reflects Jesus' strong reluctance to help a Gentile. This is a possible interpretation (perhaps probable from the point of view of historical criticism) but, for the author, Jesus' purpose probably was to test and give expression to the mother's faith in him, as this was necessary for the cure.

[87] It is a striking fact that Mark records no cases of exorcism or healing for any Roman. This must be because of his lack of such material in his sources. Otherwise we can not

4. Popular Response to Jesus' Work

One of the most convincing aspects of Mark's story of Jesus' beneficent deeds is to be found in the popular response to his work. Its great human appeal to those who had associated with the great healer would be valuable evidence of its worth to those who read the narratives. Our writer shows that the common people had a genuine appreciation and reverence for the Master. They supported him loyally until their official religious leaders poisoned their minds against him and he failed to inaugurate the nationalistic type of messianic program which they expected of him. But even then their opposition was not based on malice. It was due to their failure to appreciate the full import of his work.

During his Galilean ministry, however, they followed him in great crowds, and eagerly brought their friends to him. Jesus' teaching and exorcism at his first appearance in the synagogue at Capernaum so amazed them that the same evening "the whole city" gathered together at the door of Peter's home. In the crowd came all the sick and all the demoniacs of the community to be cured by the great healer.[89] His fame also spread like wildfire through all

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adequately explain the omission of the healing of the centurion's servant which Matt. (8:5-13) and Luke (7:1-10) have from a common non-markan source.

[88] Of course Mark does not openly make this comparison, but the familiarity of his readers with stories of the exploits of so many deities in their daily experience would lead them inevitably to just such a conclusion. Inevitably they interpreted Jesus in terms of their familiar ideas and experiences.

[89] Mark 1:27-34.

the surrounding sections of Galilee. To avoid being "swamped" by the multitudes he left Capernaum long before daybreak the following morning and made a tour through the smaller towns of the district.[90] Again his success proved too great. His repeated exorcisms and the healing of a leper so increased his popularity that he deserted even the smaller towns, and sought the very sparsely settled regions.[91] But even here they thronged to him in such numbers that he sought refuge back in the city! But rumor again hotly pursued or even outran him. The crowds surrounded Peter's house making ordinary access to him impossible. So the four friends of a paralytic took their patient to the housetop on a stretcher, broke open the roof, and let him down where Jesus would have a chance to heal him.[92] When the paralytic arose and carried his mat home the people "were all amazed, and glorified God, saying, We never saw it on this fashion."[93]

Shortly afterwards he withdrew with the disciples to the sea of Galilee but multitudes who had heard of his marvelous deeds came to him from such widely separated regions as Jerusalem, the Judean country, districts, Idumea, Transjordania, Tyre and Sidon. The crowds pressed about him so violently, and the sick and possessed tried so hard to get to him for healing that he was forced to get into a boat for a chance to speak to them.[94]

Then he retired to a mountain for some privacy with the twelve,[95] but when they returned home to Capernaum the crowds kept them so busy that they could not find time to eat.[96] Again at the seashore he was forced to take to a boat to avoid the crush of the multitudes.[97] Somewhat later, with the twelve, he crossed the lake to the Gerasene country where again an exorcism brought him rapid fame and a great multitude.[98] Upon his return to the west shore of the lake the crowd gathered rapidly about him and those suffering from diseases sought his help.[99] So many were packed about him that he could hardly make his way out to go to the home of Jairus to cure his daughter.

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[90] Mark 1:35-39. [91] Mark 1:40-45.

[92] Mark 2:1-4.

[93] Mark 2:12. With this story we see the beginning of the hostility of the religious officials toward Jesus, but not of the multitudes.

[94] Mark 3:7-12.

[95] Mark 3:13. This is the point at which Matthew presents the Sermon on the Mount, but Mark omits it (if he knew it). There is a suggestion in Mark that the crowds may have followed at least part of the way, but this is uncertain.

Leaving Capernaum for his old home-town of Nazareth, he again brought astonishment to those who heard and saw him. But his success there was seriously hampered by their lack of genuine confidence in their former fellow-townsman.[100] Yet even they had to acknowledge that he had a strange and wonderful power.

Soon the disciples returned from a tour of preaching, healing and expulsion of demons.[101] He again desired a chance for privacy with his intimate group of associates, a relief from the strenuous life of daily contact with thronging crowds. But this isolation proved impossible. Even by taking a boat and landing at a secluded spot, they were unable to escape the eager throngs. This time he met even their need for physical sustenance by feeding more than five thousand of them.[102] After they had eaten he at last succeeded in dismissing the crowd and the disciples, and went alone into the mountain for prayer in solitude.

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[96] Mark 3:19 f.

[97] Mark 4;1.

[98] Mark 5:14-20. The people here were so awestruck at Jesus' power, which had also brought about the destruction of the hogs, that they earnestly implored him to leave their land.

[99] Mark 5:21-43.

[100] Mark 6:1-6. Here he performed only a few minor cures but no exorcisms.

[101] Mark 6:7-13.

[102] Mark 6:30-44.

When he landed across the lake with the disciples a few hours later[103] the people in great numbers swarmed about him. Some of them

> ...ran round about that whole region, and began to carry about on their beds those that were sick, where they heard he was. And wheresoever he entered, into villages, or into cities, or into the country, they laid the sick in the market places, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole.[104]

Jesus found it impossible to avoid publicity even during his brief excursion into the territory around Tyre and Sidon. The mother of a demonized girl was one of those who crowded around him, and through her earnest entreaties induced him to cure the child.[105] On returning to the Sea of Galilee he was again surrounded by the people who brought him the deaf-stammerer. When Jesus healed him the crowds in great wonder and awe published the news everywhere. They said, "He hath done all things well; he maketh even the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak."[106]

We next read of a multitude of four thousand people who had gone for three days without food in order to be with Jesus. But he took pity on them and fed them miraculously with seven loaves of bread and a few fish that they had.[107] Following the transfiguration, the crowd was present to see the expulsion of the demon from the epileptic boy.[108]

Even on the trip from Galilee to Jerusalem there were often great multitudes assembled to listen to his teachings, and occasionally to witness a case of healing.[109] On at least one occasion they brought their children to be blessed by the Master.[110] Great crowds of people were present at the triumphal entry into Jerusalem to show their admiration for Jesus and their faith in him as the Messiah who should free them from Roman rule.[111] All the early experiences in Jerusalem show the common people as loyal supporters of the great teacher and healer. The chief priests and the scribes, on the other hand, harbored a bitter hostility toward him. They were stealthily seeking the opportunity to make away with him, but feared that his arrest would bring about a popular uprising.[112] It was only after the officials had seized him by treachery, and condemned him on false charges, that they were able to incite the populace to turn against him.[113]

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[103] Mark 6:53 f. Apparently this was early the next morning.

[104] Mark 6:55 f.

[105] Mark 7:24-30. Cf. supra, p.450 and n. 86.

[106] Mark 7:31-37.

[107] Mark 8:1-10. The question whether this incident is a duplicate account of the feeding of the five thousand is of no concern for our present purpose. The author clearly considered them separate incidents.

[108] Mark 9:14-29.

The first readers of this story would be much impressed with the genuine love and loyalty of the common people toward the Master. Their true insight had clearly discerned in him a powerful and beneficent friend, able and eager to relieve their sufferings and banish their sorrows. This great divine healer was still accessible to those who would accept the marvelous deliverance he came to bring to all the sons of men.

III. Opposition to Jesus' Healing and Exorcism

This love of the common people for Jesus was not shared, however, by all of the Jews. For some, opposition early arose, which developed into powerful antagonism and finally deadly hostility toward the great wonder-worker. How was this related to

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[109] Mark 10:1,46-52.

[110] Mark 10:13. Literally "that he should touch them."

[111] Mark 11:1-10.

[112] Mark 11:18; 12:12; 14:2.

[113] Mark 15:8-15. The fact of Jesus' arrest, with no attempt to defend himself or to allow his followers to do so, had probably dampened the popular ardor for such a Messiah.

Jesus' healing and exorcistic activities as our author conceived it, and what was its significance in relation to our whole problem?

The author shows the rise of this opposition soon after the beginning of Jesus' public activity, and its development with increasing bitterness until it eventuated in his arrest, trial and execution. It flared up on fourteen different occasions, from its first expression at the healing of the paralytic to the conference of Judas with the officials for the purpose of betraying Jesus.[114] Mark makes it clear that this antagonism came exclusively from the official classes of the Jews, and chiefly from the religious leaders.[115] The scribes, Pharisees, elders and chief priests are the groups most frequently mentioned, with two strange references to the coöperation of the Herodians with the Pharisees. Hence it was primarily those responsible for the interpretation and the official observance of the Jewish Law and its institutional system who opposed Jesus.

It is clearly revealed that it was the deeds of Jesus rather than his teachings which led to this antagonism.[116] In several instances other deeds than healings or exorcisms were the occasions for conflict, but since the principles underlying these were not essentially different from those involved in the healing activities we shall consider the latter primarily.[117]

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[114] Mark 2:1-12; 2:15-17; 2:18-22; 2:23-28; 3:1-6; 3:22-30; 7:1-23; 8:11-13; 10:2-12; 11:15-18; 11:27-33; 12:12; 12:13-17; 14:1 f. Possibly there should be added the incident in which the Sadducees asked about the resurrection, 12:18-27; and the scribe's question about the greatest commandment.

[115] There are three exceptions to this general statement but they are of such a nature as not to invalidate it. (1) The relatives (and friends?) of Jesus tried to save him from himself, thinking he had become so engrossed in his work that he had lost his head (3:21,31-35). (2) The Nazarenes were somewhat sceptical about the source of his power, but attempted no violent opposition (6:3-6); contrast Luke 4:28 f. (3) The Gerasenes were awestruck with his power and feared another calamity like the loss of the swine (5:16 f.).

[116] This is in strict keeping with Jewish practice, which allowed great freedom in theological matters but demanded exact conformity in the observance of social and religious customs. But toward the end they also tried to incriminate himself in his speech.

Jesus' opponents recognized at the outset that he could perform and had performed healings and exorcisms. They did not question his ability. What they did question was the source of his authority. By whom had he been authorized to engage in these activities? It was generally recognized by Jew and Gentile alike that the secret of the expulsion of a demon was for the exorciser to ally himself with a power stronger than the demon. Then by the proper methods the authority of this greater power could be used to drive out the evil spirit. This superior being might be either a more powerful demon, or a mightier deity or one of his angels or other representatives.

Some of the Jerusalem scribes who had heard of Jesus' power as an exorcist came to Galilee to investigate.[118] They found him to be an independent religious teacher without official theological training or sanction. He seemed but little concerned with the careful observance of Jewish institutional laws. Apparently he had repeatedly violated the established regulations of the sacred Sabbath, openly and deliberately.[119] Such a man, they were convinced, could not be working under the authority and approval of God. But it could not be denied that he exercised a strange and superhuman power. He showed an unquestioned mastery over the demons. There was only one explanation for such mighty deeds: he must be possessed by Beelzebub, the demonic chief, and exert power over the subordinate spirits through the authority of their master.

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[117] Chief among these non-healing incidents are: Jesus' eating with publicans and sinners, 2:15-17; the failure of Jesus and his disciples to fast, 2:18-22; eating grain plucked on the sabbath, 2:23-28; eating with unwashed hands, 7:1-23; driving the moneychangers from the temple, 11:15-18; and cases where they tried to entrap him in his speech.

[118] The narrative does not state the particular case of exorcism which formed the basis of the Beelzebub charge of the scribes. It seems to be a general summary estimate as Mark presents it (3:22-30). On the general problems involved see B.S. Easton, "The Beezebul Sections," JBL, XXXII (1913), 57-73.

[119] Mark 2:1-3:6 give repeated instances of this, and we are apparently justified in assuming that Mark regarded the scribes as cognizant of these facts.

Official Judaism favored an attitude of suspicion and hostility toward the independent exorcist. It recognized the reality of the deadly demons and their pervasive influence for evil and suffering in daily life. It made provision for driving out these satanic forces from those afflicted and for protecting people against their onslaughts. But such apotropaic and expulsive functions were strictly under the control of the authorized religious officials. They were too significant and potent to be entrusted to the hands of the uninitiated. Participation in exorcistic practices by independent, unauthorized individuals was considered a serious violation of the sacred Law.[120] This too easily involved the danger of using the name of Yahweh with disastrous consequences. It also tempted them to the use of names of pagan deities for exorcistic purposes - a clear violation of Jewish monotheism.

With such attitudes in mind it was natural for these religious leaders to be concerned about the practices of this free-lance exorcist who was winning over the multitudes by his striking deeds of power. They must know the facts and protect the people from being led astray by any violator of the Divine

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[120] The attitude of official Judaism toward such practices has already been considered, with sources, supra, pp. 236-39.

Law. When they came and saw what actually happened they brought against Jesus the accusation: He was casting out demons through possession by, and alliance with, Beelzebub the demonic chieftain.[121]

Jesus showed the falsity of their charge on two grounds. (1) In the first place, it was unreasonable, because his activities in expelling demons from men had been destructive of the satanic kingdom which they represented. Satan would not be so foolish as to destroy the forces of his own kingdom. But Jesus had actually been devastating these cohorts of Satan and weakening his (Satan's) kingdom every time he drove out a demon from a possessed person. This was convincing proof that he was a bitter enemy, not an ardent ally, of Satan. (2) In the second place, their accusation was false because he would not have been able to conquer these hosts of Satan unless he had already defeated their master. Satan was the strong man of the household of evil whom Jesus had bound in their great conflict in the desolate wilderness.[122] Now he was engaged in plundering Satan's tools;[123] that is, he was conquering the demons who were the instruments of his household, those who did his will. Hence Jesus' destruction of the demons was a proof that he was the conqueror, not the slave of Satan. The kingdom which he represented would eventually triumph over that of the prince of evil.

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[121] For linguistic and other technical aspects connected with this term, see Cheyne, "Beelzebul," Enc. Biblica, Vol. I, cols. 514 f.; G.A. Barton, "Baalzebub and Beelzeboul," ERE, II, 298 f. For our purpose it is sufficient to note that the word was a common variant for Satan, the chief of all evil spirits, and the supreme enemy of all good. Montgomery gives an interesting parallel to the Beelzebub case. It is a case in which a formula that was secured from a graddaughter was used to charm her grandmother. AITN, Text No. 40, sec. 17 f., p. 253, cf. 254 for commentary.

[122] This is clearly the author's meaning in his allusion to the binding of the strong man.

[123] The Greek here is σκεύη, meaning utensils, tools or implements, rather than goods in the ordinary use of the term.

Then Jesus gives by clear implication the answer to the main question regarding the source of his authority. He has shown that it is _not_ from Satan; he proceeds to show that _it is from God_. It is through the Holy Spirit, that has dwelt within him since baptism, that he is empowered to conquer the forces of the evil one.[124] Hence God himself is the ultimate authority back of his work. This will be clear to Mark's readers who recall the story of Jesus' pneumatic endowment and the marvelous results that have come from it.

The author is eager for his readers to perceive clearly three other important facts. (1) The first is that the Jewish leaders in making this accusation against Jesus were guilty of the grave sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. They were either so blind or so malicious as to attribute Jesus' beneficent deeds of exorcism, wrought through the Holy Spirit, to the power of Satan. That placed them in a perilous position before God. They were in danger of incurring His eternal wrath if they persisted in this blasphemous course of action. (2) But not only were those particular individual Jews guilty of such blasphemy and liable to suffer the divine displeasure. Judaism as a religious system was in the same danger. Its official attitude toward Jesus' practice of exorcism and that of his followers had continued to be that of bitter antagonism. In opposing and persecuting[125] the Christians for the performance of deeds of mercy,

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[124] Matt. 12:28 makes the point clearer than Mark. Luke's use of the expression "the finger of God" (11:20) is strange.

[125] Acts 3:1-8;-4:5-12 clearly show that one of the chief reasons for Jewish hostility toward the early Christians was the performance of healing activities, in the name of Jesus, which his followers practiced. Knowledge of such experiences, probably still

Judaism was blaspheming the God it claimed to serve. (3) The Jews who opposed Jesus and accused him of collusion with Satan were themselves in league with the powers of evil. They were the allies of Satan who had worked with him long and persistently to bring about the defeat and death of Jesus. While the fundamental conflict throughout Jesus' career was between himself as God's official representative on the one hand, and Satan and his forces representing the kingdom of evil on the other; Satan had also enlisted in his cause the officials of Judaism. They became his human allies and agents for bringing about the death of Jesus.[126] But in so doing they had been fighting against the Son of God and the Father whom he represented. And the implication for Mark's readers was quite clear. Not only the Jews, but all others who continued to oppose this powerful and beneficent healer of human ill, were incurring the eternal condemnation of the Most High God. But those who allied themselves with him could be assured of the favor of God forever.

There are many other incidents in the Gospel of Mark which reveal this opposition to Jesus' activities, but they add little of basic significance to that already considered. In fact it seems that the author meant this Beelzebub incident as a summary of the accusations of Jesus' enemies against him.[127] A comparison

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existing in Mark's time, undoubtedly forms the background of his thought as he presents this bitter polemic against Judaism. No doubt Mark implies a strong measure of personal fear and professional jealousy of Jesus by the Jewish leaders. They felt him to be an interloper who was interfering with their "business." Moreover, he was so popular that they feared for their power and prestige, with his growing success. Cf. Mark 12:12; 14:1 f.

[126] For a fuller presentation of this point, with sources, see supra, pp. 10 f and nn. This attitude that the Jews in opposing Jesus were acting as children of the devil is boldly stated in the Gospel of John, e.g., 8:31-59, especially verse 44.

[127] It is not definitely linked with any particular case of exorcism but applies in principle to all such activities.

with other cases of official Jewish antagonism shows the central issue in all to be the question of Jesus' authority for his healing practices. When he healed the paralytic and pronounced his sins forgiven, the scribes accused him of blasphemy.[128] But he said he was so endowed with divine power as to be fully qualified for this act.[129] He was performing it with the divine authority which God had bestowed upon him for his work.[130] As God's chosen representative, who was endowed with His Spirit, Jesus was amply authenticated by deity for all such activities.

The healing of a man's withered hand, on the sabbath day, was the occasion for another outburst of official Jewish opposition.[131] Here the narrative indicates that the question of Jesus' authority took a different form. Was his authority to heal of so high an order that it could take precedence over the laws of the most sacred of Jewish institutions, the sabbath? Jesus' answer took a different form in this instance. Apparently many of his opponents and others of his hearers had been present on the preceding occasion.[132] Hence they dared not raise the earlier question which he had already answered so effectively. But they felt sure they would have him cornered if he violated the sabbath by his healing. Jesus realized the basis of their opposition even before they spoke and stated it for them. Then he answered it by showing that his healing on the sabbath was in harmony with the fundamental purpose of the institution, which was to promote human welfare. But by his action, if not by his words, he also claimed a divine authority greater than that of the established religious institutions of Judaism.[133] He was "Lord of the Sabbath," and therefore authorized to use it for any purpose in keeping with his mission.[134]

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[128] The forgiveness of sins and the healing of the paralytic seem to have been synonymous, or at least very closely linked, in the mind of Jesus, as presented in this incident (2:1-12). The disease was looked upon as a punishment for sin. Probably, however, it was Satan who was responsible for tempting the man to sin in the first place. Hence the healing of the disease and the forgiveness of the man's sin thwarted the satanic scheme to control the man for unholy ends.

[129] Apparently the author here applies the term "Son of man" to Jesus in the apocalyptic sense which for him (Mark) was the valid way to use it. No doubt he was convinced that Jesus used it with the same meaning.

[130] Evidently the crowds, who glorified God when the healing was performed, regarded it as done through divine power.

[131] Mark 3:1-6.

[132] The opponents in the paralytic incident are designated as "scribes" (2:6); those in this later case are the Pharisees (3:6). These may easily have been (at least partially) the same people. The Herodians (3:6) were not necessarily in the synagogue when the incident occurred.

Two other incidents must be noted briefly. In the first the Pharisees asked Jesus to show them a sign from heaven.[135] Neither the exact meaning of their request nor the specific motive back of it is perfectly clear to us.[136] It is clear, however, that they were challenging his authority. But he refused to put on an exhibition of miracle display to satisfy their malevolent desire.[137]

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[133] The incidents in 2:15-28 emphasize this same basic principle of Jesus' authority, but they are not associated with healing activities. Cf. also 11:15-18.

[134] Mark 2:28, in the incident immediately preceding that of the withered hand.

[135] Mark 8:11-13.

[136] Probably they are asking for an unusual manifestation of power such as a celestial portent or other cosmic display. If so, the incident is in a different category than healings or exorcisms. But even cosmic phenomena might involve the mastery of certain evil powers. Moreover it is possible that they wanted him to exhibit a striking case of the kind of healing activity he had already carried on elsewhere, in which case it belongs here. Their motive may have been to prove that he did not have the power, or to induce him to do something which would give them an excuse for denouncing him.

[137] This passage is sometimes interpreted as inconsistent with the greater portion of Mark on the matter of exorcism. But the statements are so brief and ambiguous as to admit of an accurate answer with great uncertainty. If "sign from heaven" means exorcism, and there was in the existing situation a real need for such action, and he refused it - then the passage is hostile to exorcism. But if it means to portray Jesus as hostile to a miraculous display of power merely to gratify his enemies, our conclusion must be very different. But the passage is obviously detached in time and place and may well represent an

The words he had already performed were adequate proof to all fair-minded and sincere people that he had divine authority back of him.

The last incident to be considered in this connection is that in which the chief priests, scribes and elders came to him in the temple at Jerusalem and asked him by what authority he did "these things."[138] To what particular actions this vague expression refers we cannot say with certainty. It may be a reference to the expulsion of the moneychangers from the temple,[139] and other incidents in Jerusalem which have not been mentioned specifically. Or, like so many of the Markan episodes, it may be a general reference to the activities which had been most characteristic of Jesus throughout his ministry. In either case it was another test of Jesus' authority, and here as always he proved his superiority to his questioners. He caught them in their own trap and found it unnecessary to answer their question in words. The divine source of his authority, which had been manifested so often, was again confirmed.

Thus, Mark has shown throughout the story of Jesus' conflict with his opponents that his hero was carrying out a divinely authorized task, which he realized through the power of the Spirit that dwelt in him. He has also made it clear that all the antagonism to Jesus had been inspired by Satan and carried through by the help of his demons and of the Jewish official leaders as his allies. But Jesus had proved victorious over all opposition, even conquering death, which was the worst their conspiracy could bring upon him. He could still insure those who were his loyal followers

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isolated tradition. This element of detachment makes it extremely difficult to evaluate it.

[138] Mark 11:27-33.

[139] Mark 11:15-18.

the utmost divine blessings, but all who opposed him were in peril of incurring the eternal wrath of God.

D. Jesus' Methods of Healing and Exorcism

The depiction of the methods employed by Jesus in his exorcistic activities is very simple. The accounts are noticeably lacking in many details that would be of interest to the technical student of history, medicine and religion. This lack of technical details, however, is in perfect harmony with the author's purpose in the presentation of these incidents. His was in no sense an academic interest. Technique of method did not concern him. Nor did he conceive such matters to have been important to Jesus himself. He shows that his hero refused to make any miraculous displays for purely spectacular purposes, where human helpfulness could not be advanced.[140] His real purpose in such activities had been to bring health and happiness to those in need. Mark puts his emphasis upon such matters as Jesus' deep concern for all who were in suffering or sorrow, his eagerness to relieve their pain, the genuine gratitude of those he healed, the wonder of the people at his marvelous works of healing, and their desire to bring all their sick friends to the great physician.[141]

But in spite of this lack of technical interest, the narratives present certain important data regarding Jesus' methods. Mark describes more or less in detail nine "non-possession" cases of healing, as follows: the cure of Peter's mother-in-law's fever.[142] the leper,[143] the paralytic,[144] the man with a withered hand,[145] the daughter of Jairus,[146] the woman with a hemorrhage,[147] the deaf man who also had difficulty with his speech,[148] the blind man of Bethsaida,[149] and blind Bartimaeus of Jericho.[150] He also gives four general summaries of healing activities.[151] Four specific cases of exorcism are described: the man in the Capernaum synagogue,[152] the Gerasene demoniac,[153] the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman,[154] and the deaf and dumb epileptic boy.[155] In addition he has six summary references to exorcisms, some at least apparently involving a number of people.[156] Thus we have a total of thirteen specific incidents as a basis for studying his methods of healing, with a few additional suggestions from the summaries. We shall take note also of four non-healing incidents which are at least akin to exorcism. These are: the temptation by Satan in the wilderness,[157] the expulsion of Satan from Peter at Caesarea Philippi,[158] the stilling of the storm on the Lake of Galilee,[159] and the cleansing of the temple.[160]

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[140] Mark 8:11 f.
[141] Mark 1;41; 3:1-5; 5:19; 1:27 f; 6:55 f.; 7:37.
[142] Mark 1;29-31.
[143] Mark 1:40-45.
[144] Mark 2:1-12.
[145] Mark 3:1-6.

In general we may classify the major healing methods of Jesus under two types: (1) His touch for the "non-possession" healings, and (2) His word of power for the exorcisms proper. If taken as general indications of the chief emphases usually found in these respective types of healing they are of value to us. But we must recognize that neither was used exclusively for all recorded cases, and in some incidents the method we should expect is not mentioned.

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[146] Mark 5:21-24,35-43.

[147] Mark 5:25-34.

[148] Mark 7:31-37.

[149] Mark 8:22-26.

[150] Mark 10:46-52.

[151] Mark 1:32-34; 3:10; 6:5; 6:55 f.

[152] Mark 1:21-28.

[153] Mark 5:1-20.

[154] Mark 7:24-30.

[155] Mark 9:14-29. The expulsion of seven demons from Mary Magdalene is mentioned in the long conclusion (16:9) but not described.

[156] Mark 1:32-34; 1:39; 3:10-12, which clearly implies exorcisms; 6:2; 6:14, apparently referring to exorcisms; 3:22.

[157] Mark 1:12 f.

[158] Mark 8:31-33.

[159] Mark 4:36-39. Perhaps 6:47-51 should be added as a fifth incident.

[160] Mark 11:15-18.

I. Touch

Of the nine specific cases of healing recorded in our gospel, six of the patients are said to have touched, or been touched by Jesus, as an essential part of the healing process. In two of these cases, the act of touching is the only procedure mentioned. In the other four there was some other accompanying action. In the remaining three where the touch is not mentioned other practices were followed.

When Jesus came to the house where Simon's wife's mother was lying sick with a fever, "he came and took her by the hand, and raised her up; and the fever left her, and she ministered unto them."[161] Apparently the touch alone was sufficient to drive away the fever.[162] In the case of the woman suffering from hemorrhage, she pushed through the crowd and touched his garment, "and straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her plague."[163]

Jesus' whole personality was so "charged" with a marvelous potency that it permeated even his garments and healed those who touched them. The woman had recognized this when coming through the crowd to touch him, and Jesus was aware of the loss of such power the moment she touched the garment.[164] Undoubtedly this powerful essence was a form of expression of the divine Spirit by which Jesus was endowed. It was so potent in its beneficent operation that it cured the disease of anyone touching him even if he did not see the person or know in advance of his action. That this conception of the operation of his marvelous healing power was generally held by the multitudes is shown clearly in two of Mark's healing summaries.

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[161] Mark 1:31.

[162] Luke 4:39 tells us that Jesus rebuked the fever, clearly implying the presence of the fever-demon which he drove out.

[163] Mark 5:29.

[164] Belief in such a healing potency in the persons and clothing of great healers and holy men was widespread in the ancient world. Cf. Acts 19:11 f. See especially O. Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder (Giessen, 1909); J.M. Behm, Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum (Leipzig, 1911), esp. pp. 8-59, for ample sources on these practices.

> As many as had plagues pressed upon him that they might touch him....And wheresoever he entered, into villages, or into cities, or into the country, they laid the sick in the marketplaces, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole.[165]

In healing the leper, Jesus reached out his hand and touched him and also said, "Be cleansed."[166] At once the leprosy left him and he was clean. Whether both touch and word were necessary for the cure of such a disease is not indicated by the author. Perhaps the touch was to heal the body of its disease and the word of power to drive away the unclean demon causing the ailment.[167] This seems reasonable but must be merely our conjecture rather than a certain interpretation of the passage.

When Jairus entreated Jesus to come and cure his child he said, "My little daughter is at the point of death: I pray thee, that thou come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be made whole, and live."[168] This shows that he expected the touch to heal. Upon his arrival at the home Jesus took the girl by the hand and told her to arise.[169] At once she got up and walked about.

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[165] Mark 3:10; 6:56; cf. 6:5. The fringes on certain Jewish robes were considered to have apotropaic significance in keeping away evil spirits. Cf. *supra*, pp. 213 with sources.

[166] Mark 1:41. Cf. Lev. 14 for the Levitical ritual for leprosy, which partook of the nature of exorcism. *See supra*. pp. 121 f.

[167] *See* Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (Gottingen, 1903), pp. 243 f. and sources for a consideration of exorcism as purification. Cf. *supra*, pp. 217-34.

[168] Mark 5:23.

[169] This is one of the few cases where Mark records the use

The reason for the double action is uncertain in this case also. Possibly the author thought of the touch of the hand as sufficient to cure the fever (or whatever the ailment was), but the voice may have been necessary to drive away the demon of death that had seized the child.[170] Or he may have conceived of the words of Jesus as merely an expression of his personal interest in helping the girl, and the touch of his hand as the potent, life-giving action.

A composite procedure was followed also in the case of the man suffering from deafness and an impediment in speech.[171] But the touch was different from any noticed thus far. Jesus put his fingers into the deaf man's ears, then spit and touched the stammering tongue. Next he looked toward heaven, groaned, and said in Aramaic, "Be opened." The result was the restoration of perfect hearing and speech. What part of the healing praxis was considered most important is not definitely stated. Probably, however, the touch with saliva was to loosen the bond that held his tongue,[172] while the words with the touch of the ears drove[173]

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of Aramaic words in the healing formula. Cf. supra, pp. 404 f for the importance of using the proper language in exorcism.

[170] Apparently Mark thought the girl was actually dead, as stated in Mark 5:35. The presence of the official mourners who wailed to drive away the demon of death also tends to strengthen this. Ovid, Fasti, IV.551 ff. tells of the hand of Ceres which had the power of giving immortality to Triptolemus when accompanied by the utterance of certain verses, and by the performance of other appropriate rites.

[171] Mark 7:31-37. Again, the people ask Jesus to lay his hand upon the man to be healed.

[172] Binding by a magic spell was a familiar procedure thoroughly believed in at this time. Perhaps it was the result of a curse. Cf. Deissmann, New Light on the New Testament, p. 85 and n. 1 for sources.

[173] Cf. Mark 9:25 which is a case of a boy possessed by a dumb and deaf spirit. Does the absence of epilepsy in our incident make for the difference in procedure? For the magical power of the finger and the hand in antiquity see Pausanias, VIII. 34.2 f.; Löw, Die Finger in Literatur und Folklore der Juden, Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann (Breslau, 1900), p. 67; G. Traub, Die Wunder im Neuen Testament, Religions-geschichtliche Volksbücher (Tübingen, 1906), V.2, pp. 53 f.; Weinreich, op. cit., pp. 34 f., 48, 65.

away the demon of deafness and restored his hearing. The healing of the blind man of Bethsaida is very similar to the case just considered.[174] In each instance the friends of the afflicted man asked Jesus to heal their friend by touching him. In both, stories the cures were performed in private. In both, Jesus employed saliva to aid in the process. In both, the whole procedure seems very cumbersome and even crude. In the case of the blind man it was a trial and error process quite beneath the dignified level on which most of the healing narratives move. This incident shows final success achieved through the application of saliva to the eyes, then a trial look (only partially successful) followed by a second touch which completed the cure. No word to the disease or its demon was necessary.

The cure of blind Bartimaeus followed a very different method. The blind man earnestly cried out to Jesus to heal him. When Jesus called to him, Bartimaeus ran to him and repeated his entreaty. Jesus replied, "Go they way; they faith hath made thee whole."[175] Neither the touch of his hands nor a word to the demon of blindness is attributed to Jesus in this case, though Mark may have assumed that one or both occurred. It seems as probable, however, that in this and other incidents the author has deliberately included different types of procedure to show Jesus' great versatility in method. He wished his readers to know that the great healer was not limited to one channel in the expression of his marvelous healing power.

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[174] Mark 8:22-26. Some scholars, e.g., Bultmann, regard these as duplicate stories of what was originally one event. Cf. his Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (Göttingen, 1921), p. 131. But clearly Mark regarded them as different events, and we are here concerned with his attitude toward them.

[175] Mark 10:52.

Jesus asked the man with the withered hand to stand out near him and reach out his hand. Then "he stretched it forth; and his hand was restored."[176] We are not told explicitly that Jesus touched the hand, but such an implication would seem most natural. In the case of the paralytic who was let down through the roof Jesus simply said to him, "Son, they sins are forgiven." But his opponents stirred up so much trouble over this that Jesus added the order for him to arise, pick up his mat and go home.[177] Again the author does not speak of Jesus' having touched the man, though he may have implied it.

A survey of these nine cases of non-possession healing shows that the touch of Jesus' hand was the most prominent single procedure followed. In a number of instances the utterance of some words by the healer was present but probably secondary in importance. In a few cases the words probably were very important. In others, the words were spoken to the patient as an expression of Jesus' personal interest, sympathy and encouragement. In a few cases the touch is not mentioned but possibly implied. And throughout all the accounts the writer is eager to show the unique power of Jesus to heal all in need, and his ability to use whatever method was mot convenient or suitable under the circumstances.

II. Words of Power

In the straight exorcisms the most efficacious method of driving out the disease demons was the use of words of power. The touch, if employed, was secondary. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the epileptic boy. After the preliminary conversation with the father, Jesus "rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him."[178] The demon convulsed the boy who lay for some time on the ground, exhausted from the terrible ordeal through which he had passed. When Jesus took him by the hand, it was to offer him physical help and inspire in him confidence in his ability to rise and walk.[179]

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[176] Mark 3:5.

[177] Mark 2;5,11. The probability of composite sources here does not have any important bearing on our problem. No attempt, to trace different types of healing and exorcism to different sources seems at all adequate for the whole of the gospel. We must leave room for variety and spontaneity.

In each of the other three examples of pure exorcism described in our gospel, the word of power alone proved adequate. When the unclean spirit in possession of the man in the Capernaum synagogue shouted his recognition of Jesus as master over demonic powers, Jesus "rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him" and instantly the spirit obeyed.[180] The word of command was sufficient to master him.

In the case of the Gerasene maniac possessed by a legion of unclean spirits, Jesus' first command, "Come forth, thou unclean spirit, out of the man," was not immediately successful. The demon parried with an appeal for mercy in the name of the deity. Jesus then asked his name and received the reply "My name is Legion; for we are many," followed by a request that they be sent into the swine feeding on the hillside rather than out of the country. Jesus in granting the request seemed to be giving quarter to these deadly foes of mankind, but in reality he was allowing them to seal their own doom. They were drowned when the frightened animals rushed headlong into the water and perished.[181] The demons had seemed to be gaining at every stage of the encounter but their apparent successes were but preliminary steps leading to their ultimate ruin. After all they were helpless before the skillful strategy and the invincible might of this great benefactor of suffering humanity. Again, by his mere words of command, he had triumphed over a host of evil powers, saving a man from their clutches and accomplishing their final destruction.

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[178] Mark 9:25.

[179] Perhaps Jesus' touch imparted to the boy some of that life-giving energy received by all who came in physical contact with his spirit-endowed personality, but if so, this clearly is of secondary importance in this case. It is interesting to note that in the case of the dumb-epileptic boy (9:14-29) the words used are, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him," while in the cure of the one who was deaf with the impediment in his speech, the word was "Be opened." Perhaps the author is interested in showing Jesus' versatility in expelling two spirits that must have been very similar.

[180] Mark 1:24 f. Literally the command was, "Be muzzled, and come out of him." Jesus used the same word in stilling the tempest in 4:39, and the command is represented as a rebuke in both instances. Cf. the rebuke of the fever in Luke 4:39. According to Rohde the word φιμόω (to muzzle) was used technically in Hellenistic magic to express the binding of a person by means of a powerful spell, so as to render him impotent to do harm (Psyche, p. 424). Cf. Rawlinson, Commentary on St. Mark (Westminster), p. 17. Obviously this meaning is appropriate here and probably was so understood by author and readers.

In expelling the demon from the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman the use of a "word of power" is uncertain though probably implied. When the insistent entreaties of the mother proved her faith in Jesus and her worthiness of being helped, he replied, "For this saying go they way; the demon is gone out of thy daughter."[182] Whether the author regarded this statement as sufficient command to the demon to secure his expulsion, whether Jesus uttered some other words that were miraculously carried through the intervening distance to the demon, whether the woman's faith was great enough to drive it out, or whether Jesus' desire to expel the spirit was able to secure the child's release - the author does not state. If the word of power was necessary, as in other cases of exorcism, the recorded statement was probably deemed adequate. The performance of the act at a considerable distance from the victim furnished the readers of the gospel with striking evidence of the power of Jesus' words in conquering unclean spirits.[183]

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[181] Cf. Pausanias' story of the demon of Temessa that finally drowned himself when mastered by Euthymus. Cf. *supra*, p.319 . Demons seemed particularly powerless in water; *cf.* Luke 11:24-26; Isa. 34:11 ff.; Demosthenes, 270, 25; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 293, *Eccl.* 1056; Conybeare, *JQR*, IX (1896), 100; *also supra*, *pp.* 96-98 . For the current belief in possession of animals by demons, *see* Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (London, 1888), V, 189 f. *See also* *Test. Solomon*, XI, and McCown, pp. 50 f., 69. Mark makes one other reference to the exorcism of a number of demons from one person, viz., the seven expelled from Mary Magdalene (16:9), but the details are not given, moreover its presence in the original Gospel of Mark is uncertain (cf. Luke 8:20) hence it has not been considered with the other specific cases there recorded.

[182] Mark 7:29.

Hence the use of words of power was of primary importance in mastering the cases of possession, whereas it had been quite secondary in most of the non-possession cases. In the former the words were commands issued to the demons, while in the latter they were addressed to the patients.[184]

There are four non-healing incidents which call for brief mention in this connection. They show Jesus' conquest of Satan or his forces, and hence must be classed with exorcistic activities. They also involve the use of words of power. When Peter protested against Jesus' statements about the sufferings he was to undergo as Messiah, Jesus saw in his attitude the work of Satan. Therefore he sternly rebuked his disciple with the words, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou mindest not the things of

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[183] Its significance would further be heightened by the fact that Jesus was here operating on foreign soil. Even here the demons were completely mastered by his words.

[184] The case of the deaf-mute (7:31-37), though not classed as possession, falls very nearly into that class, and the praxis is a strange combination of the two types. Mary Magdalene's case (16:9) cannot be classified for lack of data; besides, it probably was not in the original Mark.

God, but the things of men."[185] By this word he drove the tempter from the group of his followers. In Jesus' first encounter with Satan,[186] we are not told by what method he was successful in vanquishing the evil one. The non-Markan source of the temptation account, which is embodied in Matthew and Luke, is more specific. It says that Jesus mastered Satan by the use of passages of Scripture.[187] Whether or not Mark had this source he must have been familiar with the tradition. We do not know, however, that he adopted it. Very probably, as Mark understood the situation, Jesus' own word was as powerful as any of the words of Scripture. He was possessed by the divine Spirit, hence his words would have divine power to expel the prince of evil as they later had in dealing both with him and with his demonic subordinates.

The third instance of non-healing exorcism is the stilling of the storm on the lake. Jesus was asleep when a violent squall struck their boat. The terror-stricken disciples awoke him and pleaded for help. At once Jesus "rebuked the wind, and said unto the sea, Peace, be still. and the wind ceased, and there was a great calm."[188] This is clearly a case of subduing the demon of the storm. Jesus is quoted as using the same word here that he used in mastering the demon that he exorcised in the synagogue at Capernaum.[189] It is a striking case of the control of a powerful demon through the utterance of potent words.

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[185] Mark 8:33. [186] Mark 1:12 f.

[187] Matt. 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13. For the use of Scripture for apotropaic and expulsive purposes, cf. *supra*, pp. 190-92.

[188] Mark 4:39. Other non-exorcistic references to the power of Jesus' words are his curse of the fig tree which withered it at once (11:12-14,20 f.); and his statement in the Little Apocalypse regarding his predictions, "My words shall not pass away" (13:31). Cf. Isa. 55:11. Heitmüller tells of the practice of healing a sick person by changing his name (*Im Namen Jesu*, p. 161 and n. 5). Cf. Conybeare, *JQR*, IX.85.

[189] Mark 1:25. Cf. n. 180, p.472 above. The incident in 6:47-51 should possibly be added here though there is no mention of a word of power.

The driving of the moneychangers from the Temple[190] is an incident of a very different type, but it is nevertheless closely akin to exorcism. These men by their malicious, greedy practices were polluting this sacred shrine. In making it a center of corrupt business practices, "a den of robbers," they were clearly the servants of Satan. They were linked up, directly or indirectly, with the chief priests and the scribes; for when these groups heard of Jesus' action they redoubled their efforts to make away with Jesus. So when he expelled their associates from the sacred place he was driving out those who were in league with Satan. No doubt the author thought of these men as being very definitely under demonic influence. Jesus' method of ridding the temple of these human allies of Satan involved the use of powerful words of rebuke. In this case they included the quotation of a scriptural passage.as a powerful justification of his action. His words were strongly supported by his physical actions of overthrowing the tables, but these were no doubt supplementary. Hence, as in the other cases just considered, his words were most potent for ridding the sacred temple of its satanic trickery.

What words of power did Jesus use to expel Satan and his hosts? The professional exorcists had their special names and formulae which were most potent in mastering the evil spirits.[191] The Jews recognized the powerful efficacy of the names of their God, and of some of the angels.[192] Did Jesus make use of these names or of special formulae?

No aspect of Jesus' activity as an exorcist is more striking, in comparison with current methods of his time, than the complete absence of such technical formulae. There is no indication that he ever resorted to them in all his exorcisms.[193] The records do not indicate that he even used the name of Yahweh or any specific reference to Him in expelling the demons. In one instance we are told that a demon entreated Jesus, in the name of God, not to torment him.[194] But Jesus showed no indication of needing to appeal to the divine name to control either this or other spirits that opposed him. Mark does not even say that he used the divine words of Scripture, regarded as God's words, to master his satanic enemies.[195] The lack of any such names and formulae in Jesus' exorcisms is further supported by the fact that his enemies did not know by what authority he performed them.[196] If he had found such technical terms essential to success, surely they could have discovered them during some of his many public exorcisms. But since he did not use them, his enemies were perplexed as to his real secret of power.[197]

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[190] Mark 11:15-18. Cf. supra, pp. 457 f. on the relation of official Judaism to the satanic forces.

[191] See supra, pp.390 f for detailed data on this.

[192] Cf. supra, pp. 192-206.

But from Mark's point of view no such methods as names and formulae were necessary for his hero. He had within himself the divine Spirit which made him master over all hostile forces however powerful. This was another proof of his superiority over all other exorcists, both Jewish and Gentile. The authority of his spirit-filled personality was far superior to all the names and magical formulae that they could muster, for he was endowed with the power of the supreme God.

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[193] The use of the term φιμόω (cf. n. 180, p.472) might seem to be an exception, but it is merely a word of command, not a name or formula by means of which the command was to be made effective.

[194] Mark 5:7. Cf. the demonic references to Jesus as the Son of God or similar expressions, 1:24; 1:34; 3:11.

[195] As noted supra, p. 476, a Scripture passage was used in support of his action in cleansing the Temple but it probably was not considered the efficacious word of power that accomplished the act.

[196] Mark 3:22 ff. Cf. the healing of the paralytic (2:7) where they assume that Jesus was not using the name of God in his declaration that his sins were forgiven.

[197] The demons, because of their supernatural knowledge, recognized Jesus as divinely endowed.

It is not even stated that Jesus needed to know the name of the demon to be expelled. This was very important both in Jewish and in Gentile circles.[198] The exorcist who knew the name of a spirit was able to find the proper name or formula for mastering it. Jesus in one recorded instance asked the demon his name. The demon parried by giving his number: he said he was a legion of demons rather than one.[199] But there is no indication that Jesus asked further for the name or that he used the information he received. The exorcism was completed without any need for it. In the beginning of this incident Jesus had addressed the demon as "unclean spirit" when he commanded him to leave the man. In dealing with the spirit in the epileptic boy he addressed him thus, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him."[200] This was a characterization of the spirit, necessary to give definiteness, but is not the name. The other instances in Mark do not indicate even this form of address.[201] Hence the author must have felt that this practice was not followed by his hero. He was not bound down by the machinery of ordinary techniques in conquering the demons. His personality was powerful enough to insure success with a thorough disregard of many customary methods.

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[198] Cf. supra, pp. 192 f. for specific data, also 390 ff.

[199] Mark 5:9. This account is more like the typical case of Gentile exorcism than any others in the gospel. But even here there are differences.

[200] Mark 9:25.

[201] Mark 1:25; 7:29; perhaps it is inferred in the former; in the latter the exorcism was performed at a distance and the details very meager.

III. Miscellaneous Elements of Procedure

1. Use of Saliva

Two minor aspects of the exorcism process remain for brief consideration. The use of saliva was a part of the procedure followed in two cases of healing, as already noted. One was the deaf-mute, the other the blind man of Bethsaida.[202] Both cures are said to have been performed in private. Perhaps one purpose of this was to avoid official Jewish criticism, since the act of spitting was forbidden in connection with healing.[203] But common familiarity with it and belief in its efficacy is probably back of its employment here.[204] There is no reference to its use in cases of straight exorcism, hence it probably was comparatively unimportant.[205]

2. Faith of the Patient

Emphasis is frequently placed upon the need of faith on the part of the patient before the exorcism or healing could be performed. In several instances Jesus is credited with such statements as "Thy faith hath made thee whole."[206] This is emphasized in the curing of such widely different ailments as hemorrhage, two cases of possession, and blindness. The lack of it is given as the reason for Jesus' only recorded failure to expel demons from the possessed; those in his old home city of Nazareth.[207] Its strong emphasis in these various cases leads us to the conclusion that it was considered by Jesus to be indispensable for the successful healing of many ailments, especially for exorcisms, and possibly for all kinds of disease. We are not justified in demanding that every important element of method be specifically mentioned in every instance to show its importance. In three instances the faith of parents (one or both) of sick children was made a necessary prerequisite to the exorcism or healing. This vicarious expression of faith was acceptable because the children were either immature or in such a condition as to be unable to exercise faith for themselves, or both.[208] Closely associated with this emphasis on faith is the statement of Jesus that prayer was necessary for the one who would qualify to cast out certain types of demons.[209]

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[202] Mark 7:31-37; 8:22-26.

[203] *Tosephta*, XII.9. Cf. Case, *Jesus: A New Biography* (Chicago, 1927), p. 358, n. 1.

[204] For its usage in early Semitic circles *see* Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 2 vols. (London, 1903-04), I, 9, Tablet III, line 76; p. 209, Tablet "K," line 271; II, 109, Tablet "T," Plate XXXII, lines 15 ff.

[205] These two stories which contain this usage are so much more blundering and awkward than the other incidents that they clearly show evidences of coming from a different source. Yet they seem quite primitive in tone. It is interesting that Matt. and Luke omit both of these incidents as inappropriate.

[206] Mark 5:34. Cf. 7:28-30; 9:19,23 f.; 10:52; Matt. 9:22,29 f.; Luke 8:48; 18:42.

The stress upon the personal attitude of the patient is also quite distinctive in the Markan picture of Jesus' deeds of mercy. It removes these activities from the field of purely mechanical magic and emphasizes the personal relationship between the Great Physician and his patients. It leaves a big place for the active coöperation of the patient with the divine healer who cares tremendously for those who need his healing ministry.

E. Jesus' Authority Over Demons

I. His Exercise of Authority

One of the most characteristic and striking features of the Markan picture of Jesus is his complete and unquestioned authority over the demons. Certain aspects of this have already been considered in some detail,[210] but others remain to be examined. There we were more concerned with the source of this authority; here we are interested more in its operation and results. In our use of the term "authority" in connection with Jesus' exorcisms and healings at least two major elements are involved; (1) a certain superhuman[211] approval, support, accrediting or authentication back of all Jesus' activities, and (2) the expression of (1) in the actual power or ability to dominate every situation, to overcome all enemies, especially to conquer demons and the diseases with which they afflicted men.[212] He not only had power, but power with official divine authentication back of it.

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[207] Mark 6:5 f.

[208] Mark 5:36; 7:28 f.; 9:22-24. Jairus' daughter was (at least apparently) dead; the daughter of the Syrophoenician woman was a considerable distance away; the demonized boy was dumb and in the throes of an epileptic fit.

[209] Mark 9:29.

We have considered the fact of Jesus' mastery of Satan and of his demonic cohorts, the popular amazement at the exercise of this unparalleled power over the forces of evil, and the bitter hostility which these activities aroused within official Jewish circles. We shall now see its results upon the evil spirits themselves.

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[210] *Supra*, pp. 480-87.

[211] For the author this was divine, for the enemies of Jesus it was diabolical, hence the use here of the neutral term.

[212] Joshua Starr defines Jesus' authority as depicted in Mark 1:22 as "a mysterious superhuman force whereby demons were controlled and afflictions miraculously healed," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXIII (1930), 303. The same writer *loc. cit.*, p. 304, n. 5, also calls attention to the use of the term ἐξουσία in the *Corp. Herm.* I.32 and XIII.17 in a manner very similar to Mark's usage. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, 3d ed. (1927), p. 363; cf. 2d ed., p. 101. *See also* Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 48, n. 3 for his interpretation. He emphasizes particularly the direct relationship of the one possessing this authority with the deity from which it came.

II. The Demon's Recognition of Jesus's Authority

The fact that Jesus exercised a marvelous divine authority was well known to the demons themselves. In fact they knew it long before even the most intimate disciples realized its full significance. From the time of Jesus' first encounter with a demon in the Capernaum synagogue, on throughout his career, the unclean spirits acknowledged Jesus' divine authority and his mastery over them. In the synagogue incident the unclean spirit in possession of the epileptic cried out as soon as he saw Jesus, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus thou Nazarene? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God."[213] Similarly, the demon in the Gerasene maniac recognized Jesus at a great distance, ran to him, fell at his feet and shouted, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not."[214] The major features of these two demonic acknowledgments of Jesus are the same. (1) Both recognize Jesus as the one whom God had especially chosen and authorized as His personal representative. In one case this was stated to be divine sonship, in the other it probably refers to messiahship. (2) Both recognize that Jesus' divinely given authority, involved the power to destroy or torture them as demons. (3) There is a plea for mercy, expressed in one case and implied in the other.[215] The same general point of view is presented in two exorcism summaries. These clearly show that it was the customary procedure for the demons to acknowledge Jesus' authority in this way. "And the unclean spirits, whenever they saw him, were accustomed to fall down before him and to cry out saying, You are the Son of God."[216]

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[213] Mark 1:24.

[214] Mark 5:6 f. Cf. Bacon, "The Markan Theory of Demonic Recognition of the Christ," Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, VI (1905), 153-58.

[215] In the other two specific cases of Jesus' exorcism, this demonic recognition is not mentioned, but the reasons for its omission are obvious. In one case (7:24-30) the demon was far away from Jesus; in the other (9:14-29) it was a dumb spirit. On the problem of the destruction of the demons by Jesus, see Rawlinson, Commentary on Mark, p. 16, n. 5.

How are we to explain the fact of this universal recognition of Jesus' authority by the demons when even his closest disciples continued to be ignorant of it for a long time? There are two elements in the answer (1) In the first place we must recall that Satan the chief of all evil spirit forces had already been defeated by Jesus in the wilderness encounter.[217] This conquest of the demonic leader by the divine representative of the kingdom of God must have been well known to all of the legions of evil. Satan certainly must have warned his followers to be on the lookout for this mighty foe of their own kingdom. Hence they would now be alert to avoid if possible a direct encounter with Jesus. (2) In the second place, as demons they were possessed with superhuman power. Whenever they met Jesus they would therefore be able to recognize him as divine. So when they met him they knew him and acknowledged his identity in words.

Why did they wish to publish in this way their secret knowledge of Jesus' real identity? The answer to this question is uncertain. Probably they expected to secure greater leniency of treatment from this divine being if they acknowledged at once his exalted status. In the ancient world of monarchies and empires, it was customary for royalty to demand proper obeisance from all subjects and other inferiors. The same type of thinking was naturally carried over into the field of superhuman beings.

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[216] Mark 3:11. Cf. Mark 1:34 which is very similar.
[217] Mark 1:12 f.

Hence the demons as beings far inferior to the Son of the supreme God must acknowledge with due reverence his exalted position. Apparently the purpose of this recognition was far more important for the relation of the demons to Jesus than it was for the knowledge that they would convey to the people. For, in spite of their repeated "confessions," neither the disciples nor the multitudes came to appreciate the significance of what they were saying. Perhaps this was because they spoke in a language unknown to the crowds. Or their utterances may have been so inhuman and incoherent that the people could not understand their import.

Whatever the explanations of these obscure problems, the records make it clear that Jesus sternly rebuked their outcries of this kind and enforced strict silence upon them. For some reason he did not wish this information to become public. Perhaps he feared that it would further hamper his work for this knowledge to be disseminated prematurely. Too great popularity was already a hindrance to his work. Moreover, if people had thought of him as the Messiah they probably would have conceived of him as a nationalistic military leader. This would have been a great drawback to his real work. It might also have led to unfavorable publicity before political officials and brought from them swift and drastic military action in suppression of Jesus' work.[218] Jesus wished to reveal his true identity and under the proper circumstances, hence the repeated commands to the demons to be silent.[219] And his commands were strictly obeyed.

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[218] The attempt here is to suggest interpretations in keeping with what Mark held regarding Jesus and his work. It is not our purpose to suggest an interpretation from the point of view of the modern historical student. For other aspects of the problem see infra, pp. 517-28.

[219] Mark 1:25,34; 3:12; cf. 4:39. Jesus also frequently commanded those he had healed to be silent with regard to the incidents, 1:44; 5:43; 8:26; contrast 5:19 f. where the Gerasene is told to publish it.

Jesus also exercised his powerful authority over the demons by forcing them to leave the patients they had been tormenting. Where the demons were violent, such as those causing epilepsy, their exit from their victims was accompanied by violent shrieks and convulsions.[220] The reason for these actions is uncertain. Such actions were, however, in keeping with the nature of this kind of spirits, hence such procedure was probably to be expected of them regularly. It is also possible that this final attack upon their victims was a form of revenge upon them for their own defeat and expulsion by the great exorcist. But any such satisfaction enjoyed by the demons was only momentary, for they were forced to leave at once.

The story of the Gerasene contains one very unusual feature not paralleled in other Markan accounts. It is the driving of the legion of demons into the herd of swine that were feeding nearby on the hillside. This is the only exorcism account in our gospel in which we are told what became of the demons that were expelled from their victims. A non-Markan passage in Matthew and Luke speaks of demons that pass through waterless places vainly seeking rest, and then returning to their former victims.[221] But Mark nowhere else indicated what became of the spirits when they vacated their human abodes. We know from various sources, however, that the ancient world believed in the possibility of the possession of animals and other objects by evil spirits.[222] Such beliefs are still current in Arabia and other portions of the Near East today.[223] It was also considered possible for a demon to be transferred from a person to an animal or to water or elsewhere. An ancient Babylonian tablet tells how to remove a demon of sickness by such a process. A sucking pig was to be slain and the body split open so that it could be spread on the sick man. Then with the proper form of procedure the demon was transferred from the man to the pig.[224] The parallel to the Gerasene case is quite obvious in spite of differences in detail. Such belief was probably easier in connection with animals that were regarded as unclean.[225] The final step, for the demons, was their unexpected destruction when the startled animals rushed headlong into the water and were drowned.[226] This form of procedure is evidently unusual in Jesus' exorcisms. It probably was followed, as Mark conceived it, because of the request of the demons and the particularly good opportunity it offered to destroy them. It shows Jesus as complete master of the situation, even in facing a whole legion of Satan's hosts.

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[220] Mark 1:26; 9:26; this is not mentioned in the story of the Gerasene, probably because of the shift of interest to the hogs

[221] Matt. 12:43-45; Luke 11:24-26.

[222] Conybeare, JQR, IX (1896), 95-97.

[223] Doughty, Travels in Arabia Deserta, I.365,452; II.189 f.

Were Jesus' cures permanent? Was his authority over the demons so great that it kept them out of their victims ever afterward? Mark does not tell us specifically. But a non-Markan synoptic source throws light on the problem. It says that the expelled spirit might return to its former abode and re-enter it, taking along as companions seven other spirits more evil than itself. Then the victim's condition would be worse than before.[227]

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[224] Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, Tablet N, col. II, lines 41 ff., pp. 17-23; cf. Thompson, Semitic Magic (London, 1908), pp. 208 f. In the latter volume, pp. 30 ff., the same writer presents evidence of the transfer of demons to water, among the Arabs of modern Palestine.

[225] Cf. supra, pp.217 ff., for a discussion of the relation of demons and ritual uncleanness in the ancient world.

[226] Cf. supra, n. 181, p. 473 for parallels.

[227] Matt. 12:43-45; Luke 11:24-26.

The passage seems to indicate that such an experience was quite common. It was even probable unless the individual had within himself a good spirit as his occupant.[228] Mark implies in one exorcism account that the expelled demon might return to re-inhabit his old dwelling place. In his command to the spirit possessing the epileptic boy, Jesus said, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him."[229] But our author never suggests that a demon which Jesus had exorcised ever returned to torment its victim. Surely he would not regard such a calamity as possible if the person had within himself the indwelling divine Spirit which, as a loyal devotee of the great exorcist, he might have as a permanent possession.[230]

III. The Secret of Jesus' Authority

What does the author consider the real secret of Jesus' authority over the demons? As we have already noted, it was not to be traced to any particular methods, names, or formulae, for the variations in praxis clearly suggest a certain indifference to technique. The fundamental reason goes deeper: it lies in the personality of Jesus. Only a divine being could exercise such control over the demons who were themselves superhuman beings.[231] The author has shown from his first chapter that Jesus was such a divine being. At his baptism the Spirit of God had entered into him and God had acknowledged him as His Son and officially commissioned him for the performance of his messianic task.[232] From that time on, Jesus was a God-possessed personality, hence it was the Spirit of God in him that conquered Satan and his hosts whenever he encountered them. The particular method employed was merely a matter of convenience according to the circumstances involved: the divine Spirit could operate through whatever channel was most convenient.[233] The author makes it perfectly clear that this great hero who had overcome the demonic hosts was one in whom dwelt the Spirit of the Most High God. Therefore, in their own struggles with the demons that devastated human health and happiness, those who were united with him were allied with the Supreme Deity who must emerge victorious over all the powers of evil.[234]

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[228] This seems to be a clear reference to the need for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as a prophylactic against demonic possession.

[229] Mark 9:25.

[230] For a consideration of this theme, cf. infra, pp. 502 f.

[231] Of course a sufficiently powerful evil spirit might control them, but he would not do so in this way. Cf. Mark 3:22-30; also supra, pp.455-64 for a fuller discussion of the whole problem of Jesus' authority.

F. The Victory of Christians Over Demons

I. The Name of Jesus

The readers of this gospel are made to realize that this divine power which operated through Jesus is still available for the healing of their ills. In fact, it is this practical value of Jesus' great power for Christians in his own (Mark's) time with which the author is concerned. He shows that Jesus had given the authority to perform deeds of power and healing to his followers. When he sent out the twelve disciples on their first preaching tour he bestowed on them also the authority to cast out demons.[235] This power of exorcism had been one of the major activities Jesus had in mind for the twelve to perform at the time of his original selection of them.[236] Mark indicates that the disciples used this power of conquering the demons repeatedly.[237]

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[232] Mark 1:9-11.

[233] The author conceived of Jesus as being "charged" with divine power, which went forth from him when he healed, even when he was touched by one whom he did not see; Mark 5:28-30.

[234] *Infra*, sec. F. [235] 6:7. [236] 3:14 f.

Mark does not state specifically the method employed by the disciples in their exorcisms, but undoubtedly it was through the use of the name of Jesus. Probably the readers were so familiar with this method from its use in their own time that its mention was unnecessary. The records of early Christian exorcisms and healings show that the name of Jesus was the power through which the evil spirits were expelled. This applies both to Palestine and to the Gentile world. When Peter saw the lame man at the gate of the Temple in Jerusalem he cured him with the words, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk."[238] Soon afterward Peter explained to the astonished multitude the power by which he had healed the man,

> And by faith in his (i.e., Jesus') name hath his name made this man strong, whom ye behold and know: yea, the faith which is through him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all.[239]

The Jewish officials were greatly disturbed when they heard of the cure, and brought Peter and John before the Sanhedrin to explain it. They asked the apostles, "By what power or in what name, have ye done this."[240] As we have already seen,[241] official Judaism guarded very jealously its prerogatives in the field of exorcism and healing. It attempted to prevent the use of any names or authorities which would be a violation of strict Jewish monotheism or of the rigorous requirements of the Torah. Hence the important question is that of the name through which the healing was performed. Peter's bold reply leaves no doubt as to the source of his power.

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[237] Mark 6:13.

[238] Acts 3:6. The B text of Acts 6:8; 9:17,40; 14:10 has inserted the words "in the name" or "through the name" of Jesus. Cf. Heitmüller, INJ, pp. 232 ff.

[239] Acts 3:16.

[240] Acts 4:7.

[241] Supra, pp. 455-64.

> Be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified whom God raised from the dead,...doth this man stand before you whole....And in none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.[242]

The apostles were released with the strict injunction "not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus,"[243] but continued their activities as before. They were arrested and given similar orders a second time. Upon being discharged this time they rejoiced that they were "counted worthy to suffer dishonor for the name."[244]

The use of the name of Jesus for performing deeds of power was also common in Hellenistic Christianity.[245] It was used even by non-Christians as a name of power. Mark records an example of its successful use by one who was not a member of the twelve, and shows Jesus' hearty commendation of it.[246] The fact that such a method received Jesus' approval lends further evidence that the author regarded such procedure as valid.

This is the more probable when we recall the tremendous power that was inherent in a great name. Ample evidence, both in the New Testament and outside sources, reveals the fact that the name was for all practical purposes equivalent to the personality of the one denoted.[247] He who had control of a name of power could through its use gain mastery over all beings that were subject to the person it represented.[248] Paul tells the Philippians that God had highly exalted Jesus and given him "the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow,"[249] and all beings - the inhabitants of heaven, of the earth and of the underworld - should acknowledge Jesus' lordship. Similarly in the Ephesian letter we read of God's exaltation of Jesus to a place at His right hand, "far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come."[250] In the light of the use of Jesus' name for exorcisms which was practically universal in early Christianity it is certain that both Mark and his readers would recognize this as the most natural method of conquering the evil powers which assailed them.

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[242] Acts 4:10,12. Cf. 9:34; 16:18; 19:13.

[243] Acts 4:18.

[244] Acts 5:40 f.; cf. Burkitt, Journal of Theological Studies, XX (1919), 324; Clemen, Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources (Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 233 ff.

[245] Acts 16:18; 19:13-20; Eph. 1:21; the name was also potent in baptism, prayer, and other activities of the Christian group. Cf. Acts 2:21,38; 4:29-31; 9:15,21,27,29; 10:48; 12:4-12; Rom. 1:5; Col. 3:17.

[246] Mark 9:38-40. The author seems quite eager to make this point, for he goes out of his way to insert the story at a point where it breaks the continuity of his narrative. The reference to the "name" in verse 37 seems to be his justification for putting it in here. On this passage see Montefiore, Syn. Gospel, I.229 f.

The long conclusion of the Gospel clearly states that the name of Jesus will be the potent means for insuring protection against the powers of evil, and the enjoyment of positive physical benefits.

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[247] Mark 13:13; Acts 15:14,17,26; 19:17; 21:13; 22:16; 26:9; Rom. 2:24; II Thess. 1:12; 3:6; Heb. 1:4; 6:13 f.; I John 5:13; III John 7; Rev. 3:4 f.,8. It is interesting to note that Jesus bestows names upon Simon, James and John.

[248] The importance of names for assuring protection against hostile spirits in the Gentile world is well represented in the Apocalypse of John. *See* 2:3,12,17; 3:12; 6:12 f.; 7:3; 8:5 ff., 12; 9:4 ff.; 10:3 f.; 13:1 f.,16 f.; 14:1,9-12; 15:2; 19:12 f.,16, 20; 22:4. For extra-Christian uses *see* Heitmüller, *INJ*, pp. 156-76; Doughty, *op. cit.*, I, 329; Baldensperger in *PEFQS*, (1899), pp. 150 f. The Ophite initiate had communicated to him the names of the archons as the chief sacrament of his cult. With these he gained power over the archons. *See* Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, p. 185 and nn. 3-5 for sources.

[249] Phil. 2:9 f.

[250] Eph. 1:21. Cf. the following from Asc. Isa. 9:5, "This is...the Lord Christ, who will be called Jesus in the world, but his name thou canst not hear till thou hast ascended out of thy body." *See* Charles, *Rev.*, *ICC*, II.132, on Rev. 19:12 f.

> And these signs shall accompany them that believe: in my name they shall cast out demons;...they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.[251]

Although we do not know that such a summary was in the original of our Gospel, the items for the most part fit perfectly into the atmosphere of the rest of the book. It shows that Jesus' true followers would be protected from various deadly dangers and be assured of bodily safety by the use of the name of Jesus. The closing verse tells of the fulfillment of this promise in the deeds of power performed by the disciples after Jesus' exaltation to heaven.[252] The significance of this ever-present and supremely-potent name as an unfailing prophylactic against all bodily ills can hardly be overestimated for the readers of this Gospel.

II. Anointing with Oil

Mark tells us that the disciples as well as Jesus had also performed non-exorcistic healings. The story of the mission of the twelve through the regions of Galilee says, "they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."[253] This is the only reference in the gospels to the use of oil for healing, but the practice was well-known in other circles and soon became common in Christianity.[254] Apparently this was more efficacious than just the touch of the hands for the oil was regarded as having great expulsive power. This is clearly seen in its use for protective purposes by the Church at a later date. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks thus of it:

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[251] Mark 16:17 f.

[252] Mark 16;20.

[253] Mark 6:13.

[254] See Montefiore, Syn. Gosp., I.149 f.; Reitzenstein, Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe (Leipzig, 1929, pp. 173-77; F.C. Puller, The Anointing of the Sick in Scripture and Tradition.

> Then, when ye were stripped, ye were anointed with exorcised oil, from the very hairs of your head to your feet, and were made partakers of the good olive-tree, Jesus Christ....The exorcised oil therefore was a symbol of the participation of the fatness of Christ, being a charm to drive away every trace of hostile influence. For as the breathing of the saints, and the invocation of the Name of God, like fiercest flame, scorch and drive out evil spirits, so also this exorcised oil receives such virtue by the invocation of God and by prayer, as not only to burn and cleanse away the traces of sin, but also to chase away all the invisible powers of the evil one.[255]

Whether it was necessary for the disciples to pronounce the name of Jesus over the oil before applying it to the sick, the author does not indicate, but probably it is implied. At any rate he clearly looked upon it as having power to expel demon-induced ailments.

In the Epistle of James we find another attestation to the use of oil as a healing agent in the church of the first century.

> Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.[256]

The long conclusion of the Gospel contains a promise of the risen Jesus to give his disciples the power to heal the sick by placing their hands upon them.[257] This does not mention the use of oil, but the fact of its otherwise close parallel to the healing activities of the disciples on their special mission, makes the implication of its use here rather probable. Altogether the references to healings by the disciples, by the laying on of hands, with or without the use of oil, are few. But their import is clear. Here is another method accessible to Jesus' followers, for guaranteeing health and happiness, through the use of the power made available by their Master.

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[255] Cyril of Jerusalem, Lecture XX (On the Mysteries II. "Of Baptism"), Sec. 3; NPNF, 2 Series, Vol. VII., p. 147; cf. Indes on "Devil," "Devils," and "Exorcism" on pp. 164 f. for further materials.

[256] Jas. 5:14 f.

[257] Mark 16:18. Cf. Acts 5:15 f.; 19:11 f.; Heitmüller, INJ, pp. 232 ff.

III. Faith

We have already seen that Jesus placed great stress upon the need for faith by those whom he healed or freed from demons.[258] The author clearly implies that faith is still necessary for those desiring the blessings available by the great healer. What does he mean by faith in this connection? For those whom Jesus healed during his earthly ministry it was primarily an attitude of trust or personal confidence in his ability to perform the necessary cure or exorcism. It did not involve belief in his messiahship, for this was not held even by his most intimate followers until well along in his ministry.[259] But for the author and his readers, who were living a generation after Jesus' high status had been attested by his resurrection and exaltation to heaven, faith in Jesus undoubtedly involved a belief in his messiahship and divinity.

In connection with the cursing of the fig tree Jesus said to his disciples,

> Have faith in God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that

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[258] Mark 5:34,36; 7:27-29; 9:23,29; 10; 52; *supra*, D.III.2.

[259] Bartimaeus addressed Jesus as Davidic Messiah (10:47 f.) but Jesus makes no reference to this ascription of messianic dignity. In fact he clearly rejects it elsewhere, e.g., 8:31-33; 12:35-37. The demons that recognized it were always quickly silenced.

what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it.[260]

This shows Jesus' emphasis upon a type of faith which is personal trust in God and in His power to do everything necessary for the followers of Jesus. But the author's own conception clearly involved a more theological element of belief about Jesus' official status. This is reflected in the long conclusion of the Gospel. Here the theological aspect is also attributed to Jesus, as seemed quite appropriate to the author after the resurrection experiences. Before his ascension to heaven Jesus said to the eleven disciples,

> Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned. And these signs shall accompany them that believe: in my name shall they cast out demons....[261]

Here faith is clearly a matter of belief in certain things about Jesus - belief in the "gospel" which by this time was a technical term with clearly defined meaning.

How would faith enable the individual to overcome demons? Was faith alone sufficient or was it a necessary prerequisite to other methods of driving them away? Probably the latter, although the author does not clearly state it. According to verse 17 just quoted, it is those who believe in Jesus who are qualified to use his name with success in expelling demons and performing other "signs." Probably the author looked upon faith as the indispensable prerequisite to the use of the name of Jesus, to prayer, to baptism and endowment by the Holy Spirit, and to participation in the Lord's Supper, all of which were potent prophylactic agencies to protect from demonic attacks.[262]

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[260] Mark 11:22 f. Cf. 9:23. It is significant to note that even Jesus himself could not exorcise demons when people had no faith in him (6:5 f.). The patient's active participation is emphasized throughout the gospel.

[261] Mark 16:15-17. The author may imply that the disciples could have conquered the storm demon on the lake if they had had sufficient faith (4:39 f.), but this is uncertain. The meaning may be that they lacked faith in Jesus' ability to do it.

IV. Prayer

Almost inseparably connected with the exercise of faith is the practice of prayer. The latter is one of the most natural and potent methods of expression of the former. Mark gives comparatively little attention to prayer, probably because he feels that he can take for granted its prevalence and its power. He shows Jesus praying alone at the times of great crises in his career;[263] he pictures him reverencing the Temple as the house of prayer, and driving out those who were violating its true purpose;[264] and he tells of his instructions to the disciples on the necessity for, and some of the qualifications of, effective prayer.[265] He also indicates that Jesus prayed before distributing the food to the multitudes,[266] and at the breaking of bread at the Last Supper.[267] In healing the deaf-mute he looked up into heaven, probably in silent prayer, before pronouncing the words that effected the cure.[268]

In only one instance in Mark does Jesus say specifically that prayer is necessary for the expulsion of a demon. This is in connection with the cure of the epileptic boy at the foot of the mountain. The statement is very brief, "This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer."[269] Undoubtedly, for the author, this implies prayer in the name of Jesus. Elsewhere he indicates clearly the necessity for moral alertness and prayer as means of avoiding and overcoming the temptation of Satan.[270] But in view of the strong emphasis upon the power of a great name in prayer, in Jewish,[271] Gentile[272] and Christian[273] circles, it is practically certain that the "magical" element was closely linked with the ethical in Mark's interpretation of prayer in the name of Jesus. This was almost inevitable as the two aspects of such an experience were inseparable for the first century world. The use of a name with great potency was for Mark's time one of the supreme forms approved by the deity for bringing the greatest ethical blessings to men.[274] Thus prayer in the name of Jesus was very largely what we should call a "magical" procedure, such as Roman prayer had been for centuries preceding the Christian era, and as it continued to be for many centuries in the church.[275] It was also potent for overcoming the forces of Satan. Apparently Mark would have his readers understand that every loyal devotee of the Christian movement might have ever available this powerful weapon, prayer in Jesus' name, for protection against the demonic hordes.[276] This would be of incalculable value in insuring health and happiness to the individual and to the group.

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[262] According to Acts 3:16 faith was such a prerequisite to the use of the name of Jesus for healing in the primitive Jerusalem church. "And by faith in his name hath his name made this man strong."

[263] Mark 1:35; 14:32-41.

[264] Mark 11:15-17.

[265] Mark 11:25; 14:38.

[266] Mark 6:41; 8:7.

[267] Mark 14:22.

[268] Mark 7:34.

[269] Mark 9:29.

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[270] Mark 14:38; cf. 4:15; 11:25; 9:24-29.

[271] See supra, pp. 496 f. with sources; also Baldensperger, PEFQS (1899), p. 149.

[272] See Heitmüller, op. cit., pp. 197-22.

[273] Cf. pp. 496 f.

[274] Cf. discussion, infra, pp. 498 ff.

[275] Cf. Döllinger, Heidentum und Judentum, p. 657; Heitmüller, p. 202 and n. 1. It would be interesting if one could discover how far Christians today still regard the efficacy of a prayer as bound up with the use of the expression "in Jesus' name."

[276] Mark 16:17 f.; cf. Jas. 5:15. "The prayer of faith shall save him that is sick." According to Acts 19:13-20 the Ephesians burned their books of magical formulae because they found the name of Jesus a more convenient and more potent defense against demonic ills.

V. Baptism

Baptism, though mentioned only a few times in our Gospel, was considered of great significance for insuring physical and mental health. Mark's story begins with the work of John the Baptist. It is noteworthy that he has John make just one prediction about Jesus: "He will baptize you in Holy Spirit."[277] This fact that Jesus would be the one through whom the divine Spirit would be mediated to men was apparently of supreme importance. This announcement was followed immediately by Jesus' own baptismal experience, when he was possessed by the divine Spirit.[278] This endowment by the Spirit transformed him into a divine being and became the secret of his remarkable career.

This baptismal experience of Jesus is apparently presented as the norm to be undergone by every Christian. By it the devotee likewise would become endowed by the Spirit. He too would thus become changed by this realistic experience by which the divine Spirit came to dwell within him.[279] His baptism would of course be in the name of Jesus. By the use of this powerful name, which would make available all of the power of Jesus, the evil spirits would be driven from the initiate and the divine Spirit would come into him as a powerful prophylactic against further demonic assaults. The apotropaic power of the water would greatly augment the protective significance of this initiatory rite. Just as Jesus through baptism had been endowed with the divine power to conquer Satan and all his hosts, so his devotees who underwent this transforming experience would be fully equipped to overthrow the evil forces that might beset them.

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[277] Mark 1:8. [278] Mark 1:9-11.

[279] Evidently Mark takes for granted the Pauline conception of the realistic indwelling of the Spirit, with the transformation of the individual (new birth experience) which it involved.

Here, as in some other instances, the present long conclusion of Mark says in plain terms what was taken for granted by the original author. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."[280] Salvation for Mark, as for so many of the early Christians, was basically the conquest of the demonic powers. And this was what baptism actually gave the devotee of the Christian cult.

It must be admitted that the original of our Gospel does not in so many words tell us that baptism has this thoroughgoing sacramental significance. It was not necessary for his readers who were so familiar with such concepts as to make its mention superfluous. This is another instance in which the social, religious and intellectual environment out of which a document arose is of far greater importance for its interpretation than all the linguistic and exegetical procedures that could be employed. An author does not need to say what is obvious to his readers. In the world of the first century one of these obvious facts was the realistic, sacramental character of initiatory religious rites such as baptism.

This significance of baptismal rites in the mystery cults of the period is clearly set forth by Cumont:

> These religions pretended to restore lost purity to the soul either through the performance of ritual ceremonies or through mortifications and penance. They had a series of ablutions and lustrations supposed to restore original innocence to the mystic. He had to wash himself in the sacred water according to certain prescribed forms. This was really a magic rite, because bodily purity acted sympathetically upon the soul, or else it was a real spiritual disinfection with the water driving out the evil spirits that had caused pollution. The votary again, might drink or besprinkle himself with the blood

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[280] Mark 16:16.

of a slaughtered victim or of the priests themselves, in which case the prevailing idea was that the liquid circulating in the veins was a vivifying principle capable of imparting a new existence.[281]

There is abundant evidence of similar sacramental conceptions in Christianity from the earliest times down into the second century and beyond.[282] With such ideas and attitudes as the very thought atmosphere which the Roman world breathed, and with the Markan emphasis on the supreme benefits which these practices guaranteed, it is quite clear that the author would understand and expect his readers to see the causal relationship binding together baptism, Spirit-endowment and conquest of demons. They would readily appreciate the immeasureable blessings for physical well-being brought by this sacred rite of initiation into the Christian cult.[283]

VI. The Lord's Supper

The rite of the Lord's Supper is also given brief attention in Mark.[284] As in the case of baptism the author clearly assumes his reader's familiarity with it. His simple account pictures the inauguration of this sacred rite as a sacramental meal of profound significance for his devotees.

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[281] Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, pp. 39 f.; cf. Reitzenstein, Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe, pp. 152-292 for both Christian and non-Christian examples; Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration.

[282] Acts 2:38; 19:5; I John 3:9; 5:18; Ignatius Eph. 18:2; Clement of Alexandria, Instructor, I.6.26; for Paul, see Heitmueller, Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum (Tübingen, 1911), pp. 18-21, cf. 21-26; for post-apostolic times, ibid., pp. 37-39; Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 188-91; Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, pp. 223-331; Baptism is still regarded in Palestine as a protection against ghosts, Baldensperger, PEFQS (1899), p. 147.

[283] Heitmueller (INJ, pp. 333 f.) also shows the connection between baptism and sealing in early Christianity. The initiate became the property of Jesus when his (Jesus') name was pronounced over him. This placed him under Jesus' protection against all hostile powers. As the name thus came to have the significance of a seal, it was natural for baptism itself to come to be considered as a seal. The same writer cites the practice among the Lapps of changing the name of a sick child through a new baptism, thus curing him (op. cit., p. 161 and n. 7).

[284] We must note, however, that the two accounts of the feeding of the multitudes (6:34-44; 8:1-9) clearly reflect the acquaintance of readers as well as author with the observance of the Lord's Supper as an established rite in the Christian group.

> And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many.[285]

The author here puts into the mouth of Jesus the sacramental interpretation of this cult rite which was so prevalent at the time of his writing. The words "This is my body...this is my blood" are to be understood in a literal and realistic sense. Those who partake of the sacred elements are thereby sharing in the actual body and blood of their divine Master. They are taking within themselves divine essences that will be powerful prophylactics against all demonic influences. Hence Christians are assured of divine protection against all ills of body and soul whenever they celebrate this sacramental rite.[286] Baptism gave the initiate into the Christian cult his original endowment by the divine Spirit, and each observance of the sacred meal furnished an added increment of divine essence as a further defense against all hostile forces.

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[285] Mark 14:22-24.

[286] Paul also regards the Lord's Supper as of great potential value to health, though its improper observance might bring disease and even death (I Cor. 11:30). This sacramental interpretation of the sacred meal, which is assumed by Mark, is natural when we consider how widely it was held both in Christian and non-Christian circles. A typical statement is that of the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him (John 6:53-56). Cf. Ignatius (Eph. 20:2) who speaks of the bread of the Eucharist as "the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ." For sacramentalism in Paul and contemporary Gentile cults see Heitmüller, Taufe und Abendmahl, pp. 64-75; Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration, Index on "Sacrament."

VII. The Holy Spirit

The attention already given to the Holy Spirit as a power for conquering demons makes unnecessary more than a brief reference here. We have seen that the Spirit which dwelt in Jesus was the source of his authority and the secret of his power in mastering Satan and his hosts.[287] We have also noticed that it was the endowment by the Spirit that made of the individual devotee of the Christian cult a new creature equipped to conquer hostile spirits, and that participation in the Lord's Supper augmented this divine endowment. The exercise of faith through prayer, the laying on of hands, etc., also proved effective for making available this divine power. In all of these experiences man's human abilities must be augmented by gifts of divine power to insure his victory over the hostile spirit powers that beset his pathway at every turn. Mark has shown his readers that the Christian cult has access to many efficacious methods of insuring the permanent operation of the divine Spirit as a protective power within their ranks.[288]

Thus, in many ways, the readers of this Gospel are assured that loyal discipleship to Jesus brings rich rewards in physical and mental health. The Great Physician, who during his earthly career relieved the sufferings of all who sought his help, can still banish pain and sickness from suffering humanity. Parents may have the joy and comfort of knowing that the Supreme Healer will free their children from the demons of disease that torture them. The Master still has unbounded love and sympathy for all in need, and he has provided ample divine resources for bringing health and happiness to those who trust in him.

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[287] Supra, pp. 487 f.

[288] The non-Markan story (Matt. 12:43-45; Luke 11:24-26) of the spirit that was driven from a man, and later returned, found him empty and re-possessed him, this time with seven worse spirits than himself, clearly shows the need for the indwelling Holy Spirit as a protection against demons.

CHAPTER XII

MARKAN EXORCISM: ITS SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Many of the benefits for the members of the Christian group which have been considered in Chapter XI apply with equal force to the social, political and religio-ethical aspects of life. Hence the succeeding chapters will be very brief. They will present only those phases of the problem which have not already been considered. But like the preceding portions of our study they show that Mark wrote with the conviction that he was presenting a "full gospel" to meet all life's needs.

Society in the Roman world was deeply concerned with religion. Paul's estimate of the Athenians as "very religious"[1] might well have been applied to the Romans or many other groups in the empire. The whole of pagan society in its thoughts and actions was inseparably bound up with a multitude of deities of all kinds, grades and functions. The members of the Christian movement, adopting the attitude of the mother-faith Judaism, regarded all these polytheistic superhuman powers as hostile to them, hence as essentially demonic.[2] Every idol was the dwelling-place of one or more of these dangerous spirits. Every kind of business and occupation was dedicated to them. One could not walk down the street, purchase an article of food or clothing, visit in the home of a non-Christian friend, attend a law court, a public assembly or any form of amusement, step into a temple, send his children to school, or enjoy the paintings, sculpture or literature[3] of the time without being brought into intimate contact with hordes of these hostile spirits. In fact, life in this demon-infested environment inevitably involved coming in touch with these invisible foes many times every day.[4]

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[1] Acts 17:22.

[2] Cf. supra, pp.139-42 with sources.

A. Protection against Demon-infected Foods

The Christians living in the Gentile world felt keenly the dangers inherent in such a situation. The problem vitally affected many in the matter of food. In the Graeco-Roman world there was a widespread belief that a sacrificial animal when consecrated to a particular deity came definitely under his protection, that in some supernatural way it became the abode of the god or was changed into a divine essence, so that in eating it the person was actually eating the deity. Such participation in the life of the god was regarded as highly desirable by the devotees of the Mystery Cults, but for the Christians it meant taking demons into their bodies.[5] Since practically all animals killed for food were slain with religious ceremonies, it was almost impossible for the Christians to secure meat that was not demon-infected by being consecrated to some other deity. It was a problem of considerable difficulty when they were to eat the meat at home, still by careful inquiry it was possible to discover some that was safe. But when they were invited out to dinner by non-Christian friends they could not be sure about what was offered them without violating the rules of hospitality.

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[3] Some of the philosophical writings of the time were exceptions to this general statement, but they were decidedly in the minority.

[4] See Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister (Freiburg, 1899), for a thorough discussion of this; also Case, Experience with the Supernatural (New York, 1929), pp. 131 ff.

[5] I Cor. 10:20. Cf. Clementine Homilies IX.9: "Evil Spirits gain power by means of the food consecrated to them, and are introduced by your own hands into your own bodies; there they hide themselves for a long time and unite with the soul." Trans. in Angus, Mys. Rels. and Xty (New York, 1925), 132, n. 1.

This critical situation was faced by the Corinthian Christians and dealt with by Paul in one of his letters. He recognizes the reality of these pagan deities as demons that are dangerous to the members of the Christian group. Participation in such a meal would infect them with demons, whether eaten in a pagan temple or in a private home.[6] He who partook "of the table of demons" or drank their cup would find himself possessed by these insidious spirits. For the true Christian, however, there was a way of escape. The one who lived worthy of his divine Lord, Jesus Christ, would have His Spirit dwelling within him as a protection against demonic assailants.[7] If unknowingly in the course of social engagements, he should eat of meat consecrated to pagan deities the Divine Spirit would protect him. But if on the other hand, he deliberately went into the enemy's territory and partook of demon-infected food and drink, he would be acting in a manner unworthy of the Spirit dwelling within him: he would be defiling his body as a temple of the Spirit. This would provoke his Lord to jealousy, by trying to make a home for demons in the same abode with Himself, and would end disastrously.[8]

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[6] I Cor. 10:14-29.

[7] Cf. Lake (Earlier Epistles of St. Paul (2d ed.; New York, 1916) on the two ways of protection against demons in the Gentile world..."food had to be protected by being given up to the power of some more powerful and beneficent being; it was consecrated - sacrificed - to some god, and then it was safe: no evil spirit would dare to touch it. Or, in the alternative, it was possible to protect the eater; for in the same way, if he were already in the power of some god, no evil spirit would be able to approach him. Those who had been initiated in the Mysteries were safe from evil spirits. In this way evil spirits could be avoided."

[8] See I Cor. 11:27-30. Cf. Case, Social Origins of Christianity (Chicago, 1923), pp. 156 ff. Paul's emphasis upon the value of the Lord's Supper in renewing and increasing the presence of the Holy Spirit within oneself does not so directly

That the Roman church had also faced this problem is evident from Paul's letter to them as well as from the general conditions which inevitably must have produced it.[9] Some of the Christians there were very fearful of certain foods as unclean. Probably it was the Jewish portion of the group that was most disturbed by the problem, as their strict monotheism would make the issue more clear-cut than for Gentiles with a polytheistic background. But the Gentiles would also be concerned, and for both the fear of demons was at the heart of the problem.[10] It must have been essentially similar to that which is revealed more clearly at Corinth.

What message has Mark for people facing this problem? The presence of the difficulty is clearly reflected in the discussion about clean and unclean foods in Chapter 7. This incident as recorded in Mark began with the conflict between Jesus and the Jewish ritualists over the question of ceremonial ablutions before meals. But that was not the author's problem; he was concerned with the question of defilement involved in eating certain foods. Apparently the problem had continued to trouble some of the Roman Christians since the time of Paul's writing to them. The author of our Gospel solves it by presenting what he understands to have been Jesus' attitude toward it. In his discourse on defilement he takes the uncompromising position that no food is unclean, and the editor, to clinch the point for his readers, adds the statement that Jesus' position "made all meats clean."[11]

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concern us here as does the reality of the problem as revealed in his letter.

[9] Rom. 14, passim.

[10] Cf. supra, pp. 217-34 for the close relationship between demons and ritualistic defilement.

[11] Mark 7:19.

What meaning would this have for the recipients of this Gospel? Did it deny the reality of demons, or of their presence in the meat? In the light of the whole book, and of the prevailing attitudes of the time, such an interpretation is unthinkable. Certainly the implication is very clear that those who are under the protection of their divine Master are thoroughly insured against all harm from them. How such protection is furnished the author does not specifically state. But, from his general position, it is clear that his chief dependence was upon the presence of the divine Spirit in the individual believer. This presence of the Spirit had been mediated by the rite of baptism.[12] It could be renewed and strengthened by partaking of the Lord's Supper. So thoroughly is one thus fortified against the demons that their power against the Christian is completely broken. He may with perfect safety eat any food he wishes without the slightest danger of defilement, for the indwelling Spirit of Christ can avert all demonic harm.

It is also probable that the reader of this Gospel considered the blessing pronounced over food in the name of Jesus a further effective means for safeguarding it against demons. On two occasions Jesus had blessed food and it had multiplied marvelously to feed the hungry crowds. The blessing pronounced in his name should also prove to be words of power to drive away any lurking demons that might be in their food. This would be a further means of protection against the dangerous spirits.

B. Security in Family Life

The ordinary contacts of the family in pagan society involved many dangers from harmful spirits. From birth to death one living in a Roman household was living in a demonic environment. The perils here involved which are vividly pictured by Tertullian for a later time apply with as much force to the recipients of Mark's Gospel.

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[12] Cf. Mark 16:16 on the significance of baptism for salvation; and salvation for this writer was inseparably linked with the conquest of demons.

> For to what individual of the human race will not the evil spirit cleave, ready to entrap their souls from the very portal of their birth, at which he is invited to be present in all those superstitious processes which accompany childbearing? Thus it comes to pass that all men are brought to the birth with idolatry for the midwife, whilst the very wombs that bear them, still bound with the fillets that were wreathed before the idols, declare their offspring to be consecrated to demons; for in parturition they invoke the aid of Lucina and Diana: for a whole week a table is spread in honour of Juno; on the last day the fates of the horoscope are invoked; and then the infant's first step on the ground is sacred to the goddess Statina. After this does any one fail to devote to idolatrous service the entire head of his son, or to take out a hair, or to shave off the whole with a razor, or to bind it up for an offering, or seal it for sacred use - in behalf of the clan, of the ancestry, or for public or for private devotion? On this principle of early possession it was that Socrates, while yet a boy, was found by the spirit of the demon. Thus, too, is it that to all persons their genii are assigned, which is only another name for demons. Hence in no case (I mean of the heathen, of course) is there any nativity which is pure of idolatrous superstition.[13]

The Christian slave living in a Roman home would be brought in touch with the images of the household gods, with the regular offerings to the deities, with the masques of the ancestors, pictures and statuary in the home, and many other expressions of pagan religion. All of these objects and practices associated with non-Christian deities were, for the Christian, dedicated to demons. He was keenly conscious of these ever-present demonic dangers and the temptations which they involved. Similar perils would beset the Christian individual or family when they visited in the homes of their pagan friends.[14] Our author warns his readers against all actions by which the hand, the foot or the eye would lead to "stumbling" in this society controlled by Satan and his hosts.[15] The Christian must avoid running recklessly into danger. He must shun all unnecessary contacts with the forces of evil. But when his legitimate interests made such contacts inevitable, he could have an assurance of mastery over the evil spirits.[16]

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[13] Tertullian, De Anima, 39; ANCL, XV, pp. 502 f. For further Roman practices in the family, cf. supra, pp. 285-98.

C. Safety in Business and General Social Relations

Many of the aspects of living daily in a social order that was "demon-inspired and demon-infested"[17] are not dealt with specifically by Mark. But he shows a clear recognition of the dangers that lurked in business relations and social intercourse. He was quite familiar with the fact that all business and commercial activities were carried on under the banner of religion. Every trade and occupation had its patron deity or deities, without whose support it could not be carried on successfully.[18] For the Christians this meant that all such activities were dedicated to and sponsored by demons. Hence all products handled, purchased, worn or used in any way would be contaminated by demonic influence. The hands that touched such articles, the feet that took one to them, and the eyes that looked on them would be leading their owner into great danger.[19] The individual who engaged in such occupations as painting and sculpture would be particularly exposed to such deadly perils, hence these activities were forbidden to Christians.

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[14] Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes, pp. 15 f.

[15] Mark 9:43-47.

[16] An aspect of social contact, within and without the amily, not specifically considered by Mark has a relationship to this question, viz., the problem of sexual relations. He tells us that various forms of sexual excess come from the heart (7:21-23), but the probable implication is that Satan might inspire them. Paul clearly refers to Satan as the tempter to incontinence (I Cor. 7:5), and probably other early Christians held similar ideas. Such an attitude could easily see demonic influence in many social and religious aspects of Roman society.

[17] Case, SOC, p. 133, cf. pp. 131-33.

[18] Cf. supra, pp. 280-85.

The numerous warnings against covetousness in the writings of the early Christians are probably based very largely upon this inseparable relationship between demons and all forms of money-making.[20]

All images, temples, inscriptions, books, rites and individuals associated with the various pagan cults that flourished in Rome were likewise under demonic influence. Eusebius' statement that those who administered the oracles were demonic is typical of the Christian attitude toward all pagan religions for centuries.

> The ministrants indeed of the oracles we must in plain truth declare to be evil daemons, playing both parts to deceive mankind, and at one time agreeing with the more fabulous suppositions concerning themselves, to deceive the common people, and at another time confirming the statements of the philosophers' jugglery in order to instigate them also and puff them up: so that in every way it is proved that they speak no truth at all.[21]

Another place where the eye could cause the Christian to "stumble" was at the public spectacles. The military triumph and the various forms of games and shows so popular in the early empire were dedicated to pagan deities, which meant demons to the Christians. These places were particularly the territory of Satan and his forces. Tertullian tells of a Christian woman who was possessed by a demon while attending a show. The demon claimed her as his legitimate prey, saying, "I found her in my domain."[22] The same writer appeals to the popular love of the games, and the hero-worship accompanying them, in his plea to the Christians to conquer the demons that infested daily life.

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[19] Mark 9:43-47.

[20] See I Cor. 6:1-7,15 ff.; 7:5; 10:19 ff.; II Cor. 2:11; 11:14; 12:7; I Thess. 2:18; 3:5; Eph. 5:5; Col. 3:5; I Tim. 6:10; Jas. 2:5-7; I Pet. 5:8; Rev. 9:20; Test. Naph. 3:3; Weinel, op. cit., pp. 1-26.

[21] Eusebius, Praep. Ev., Bk. III, Ch. XVII; Gifford's ed.; Tom III, paras. 1, p. 139.

> What nobler than to tread under foot the gods of the nations - to exorcise evil spirits - to perform cures - to seek divine revealings - to live to God? These are the pleasures, these the spectacles that befit Christian men - holy, everlasting, free. Count of these as your circus games, fix your eyes on the courses of the world, the gliding seasons, reckon up the periods of time, long for the goal of the final consummation, defend the societies of the churches, be startled at God's signal, be roused up at the angel's trump, glory in the palms of martrydom.[23]

Here as in other aspects of social life, avoidance of contact with demonic dangers was the wisest course of action. It was best not to arouse to anger the indwelling divine Spirit by taking too many risks. But the Spirit would be a safe prophylactic against unavoidable and necessary contacts.

The permeation of the whole social order by demonic forces was one of the major factors responsible for the Christians' refusal to participate normally in the current social practices of the time. In Judaism, religion covered all aspects of life. But the Christians very early retreated "into their shell" and abstained from participation in the games, from membership in certain occupations, and from other customary social relationships. This isolation of the devotees of the new cult from current social customs was probably influenced by the individualistic emphasis in the movement and by its strong apocalyptic emphasis, as well as by the low social status of its members in some local communities. But none of these factors exerted a more significant influence in this direction than the menace which lurked in these social contacts because they were controlled and infested by demonic hordes.

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[22] De Spect., 26. ANCL, XI, 31. See the whole treatise for an illuminating picture of attitudes.

[23] De Spect., 29; ANCL, XI, 33; cf. ch. 30; Weinel, op. cit., p. 25.

D. Exalted Social Status of Christians

The protection against demons afforded Christians by their great hero-conqueror, the heavenly Christ, had tremendous social significance in another aspect of this situation. While they were isolated from normal participation in many practices in the larger social order, they were bound together by powerful ties in their own group life. Their endowment by the spirit of the triumphant Christ laid the foundation for an intimate group fellowship of a select circle of people - men and women who had been raised from a lowly status in the existing social order to a high dignity in the Christian society. Even the slave might share in this high privilege of membership in this glorified group - the nucleus of a new and perfect society soon to be established in fuller measure when Christ should return from heaven in glory. Such fellowship with the indwelling Christ and with his chosen followers furnished more than adequate compensation for the hardships and low social status in the general social order which were the lot of most of them. The slave, who through alliance with his divine Lord could conquer the most powerful demons, thus became master of superhuman powers to whom even the mighty Emperor owed allegiance. In the light of the glaring injustices and inequalities of Roman society, this exalted status and Christian group fellowship were of inestimable worth.

E. Economic Advantages

Economic advantages also accrued to those who were given mastery over evil spirits. These, however, came indirectly rather than directly. The restoration of health gave a physical security which made for greater stability of occupation and this in turn meant greater economic security.[24] Many who read the stories of the feeding of the multitudes no doubt felt that discipleship to Jesus would give greater economic certainty. He who had fed the multitudes would surely provide for the needs of his faithful devotees. They would also find comfort in the statement that his loyal followers would "receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands...; and in the coming age eternal life."[25] It was a decided economic advantage also for those who were cured of illness or freed from demons by the Christians. It meant a saving in fees, which was sometimes considerable if they were healed by others. Those who read the story of the woman who had spent large sums of money for twelve years without relief, and then was cured by Jesus without any charge, would readily appreciate the blessing of the beneficent power of this great hero. Even the cult of Asklepios expected one to pay according to his means, and the independent exorcists charged their patients. But Christians made no charge for this work of mercy. The economic benefits of help for the needy, assistance in securing employment, and sharing the burdens of funeral and other expenses, which were provided by the early Christian group life, were no doubt being experienced as early as our Gospel, though they are not specifically mentioned.[26] But even though discipleship to the Master should involve the most meager financial status in the present, even to the loss of one's regular occupation, such loss would be compensated for a hundredfold in other ways.[27]

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[24] This is clearly reflected in the account of the man with a withered hand in the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Jerome, on Matt. 12:13). Here the man is pictured as a stone mason who said to Jesus, "I pray thee, Jesu, to restore me mine health, that I may not beg meanly for my food." See James, Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924), p. 4 f.

[25] Mark 10:30.

F. Community Benefits

The message of Jesus' conquest of the demonic hosts was also a great boon to the whole community. The "possessed" people were not segregated in institutions for the good of themselves and society but were allowed to roam about at large. Hence they were a constant source of annoyance and peril to the community.[28] The Christians who cured these people through the power of their divine Master were therefore genuine benefactors of society. Tertullian uses this argument in his presentation of Christianity's value to the Empire. He says in part,

> Nay, who would deliver you from those secret foes, ever busy both destroying your souls and ruining your health? Who would save you, I mean, from the attacks of those spirits of evil, which without reward or hire we exorcise? This alone would be revenge enough for us, that you were henceforth left free to the possession of unclean spirits. But instead of taking into account what is due to us for the important protection we afford you, and though we are not merely no trouble to you, but in fact necessary to your well-being, you prefer to hold us enemies, as indeed we are, yet not of man, but rather of his error.[29]

Not only this, but the Christians were already establishing a growing society, within the larger social order, which was free from the onslaughts of demons. Those who should join this select group would not only bring great blessings upon themselves; they would also be sharing in the process of liberating the larger society from the deadly attacks of evil spirits.[30]

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[26] For these functions in the early church and in the Roman collegia, see supra, p. 246 and n. 13.

[27] Mark 1:16-20; 2:14. Apparently this loss of occupation was more irreparable for Levi than for the other disciples, but it would apply in large measure to all of them. Cf. 10:28-30.

[28] Rawlinson, op. cit., Introduction, p. XLIII.

[29] Tertullian, Apol., Ch. 37; trans. in ANCL, XI, 117; cf. Ch. 43, p. 126.

Thus, in various aspects of the social relationships of the time, Mark's good news of Jesus the demon-conqueror, brought security, freedom and joy to the individual, to the Christian society, and even to the whole communtiy. He could guarantee a more satisfactory life for all.

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[30] Apparently there was less thought of this in the time of Mark than in that of Tertullian. In the later period the Christian movement saw the necessity of coming to definite terms with the existing social order.

CHAPTER XIII

MARKAN EXORCISM: ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

A. Political Element Prominent in Markan Picture of Jesus

The political aspect of the Christian message is an integral part of it as presented in Mark. From the opening verse with its announcement of "the beginning of the good news of Jesus (the) Messiah" through the whole account of Jesus' career, the interest in his official messianic status is constant. The Gospel opens with a brief account of the work of John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Messiah, who, in fulfillment of prophecy, announced the coming of the new kingdom and prepared for membership in it those who accepted baptism at his hands. Jesus immediately appeared upon the scene, was baptized by John, endowed by the divine Spirit and commissioned for the messianic office. His first act of messianic significance was the conquest of Satan, the ruler of the kingdom of evil. Having accomplished this task, in which he proved his messianic qualifications, he began his mission of proclaiming the coming of the new kingdom which he was inaugurating. "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the good news of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe in the good news."[1] This is the text of Mark. The good news is the announcement that the new order of society, the order to be ruled over by the divinely chosen Messiah, is now to be ushered in. But he not only proclaims its coming. He actually begins the establishment of the new regime by the overthrow of Satan and his hosts who are dominant in the present world order. Every demon conquered marks another step toward the establishment of the new kingdom. Hence the central place given to exorcism in this account of Jesus' career. The expulsion of these evil spirits has a significance far broader than the restoration to health of possessed individuals, important as that is. It is the advance-movement in the inauguration of a new social order that is to supersede the present evil age which is under satanic control.[2]

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[1] Mark 1:14 f.

Throughout the Markan account the author's interest is in the official messianic significance of Jesus' work. He passes over without mention the birth, infancy, childhood, youth, and early manhood of Jesus as of no import for his purpose. Not the private life with its (to us) significant personal religious experiences, but the public, official status of Jesus, is his concern. At the time of his baptism Jesus became conscious of the official role which God had entrusted to him, was endowed with the divine Spirit which empowered him to carry out this program, and during his subsequent career the consciousness of this messianic mission was uppermost in his thought and action.[3]

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[2] This current conception of Satan's control of the present age is strikingly set forth in the Freer MS (W) of Mark 16:14 ff. Jesus is represented as being addressed by the eleven, during a post-resurrection experience, as follows:
"This age of wickedness and unbelief is under Satan who, by means of unclean spirits, permitteth not men to apprehend the true power of God: therefore do thou now reveal thy righteousness. They, then, said these things unto Christ. And Christ said unto them: The limit of the years of the power of Satan is fulfilled...."

[3] We are presenting Mark's conception of Jesus' messianic consciousness, not considering whether it is historically true to Jesus' own situation. Mark is convinced that Jesus was exalted from human status to heaven, whence in due time he would come as the apocalyptic heavenly Messiah. He is also sure that Jesus must have held this true conception of his status and mission. Through-

B. Jesus' Conquest of Demons a Messianic Function

The conquest of Satan and his demonic hordes was well recognized as a major messianic function in Apocalyptic Jewish thought.[4] Mark clearly understands Jesus' exorcistic activities in terms of this current imagery. The world of human life was a gigantic battle-ground where the forces of good and those of evil struggled fiercely for mastery. In the present age the satanic forces were dominant, but the coming of the heavenly Messiah with all the divine resources at his command would turn the tide in favor of the forces of righteousness.[5] During his earthly ministry Jesus had begun this conquest of the hosts of evil. He had also authorized his immediate followers, the nucleus of the new social order, to perform the same task while preparing a select group of people for membership in the coming age.[6] Whenever Jesus expelled the evil spirits from those who were possessed the demons recognized his high messianic status and his authority

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out he presents his hero as hostile to the nationalistic or Davidic type of messianic mission, which the disciples and the populace attributed to him. Cf. *supra*, pp. 435-41.

[4] Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie* (Tübingen, 1903), p. 215; Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg und das Urchristentum*. For the idea of a messianic warfare with foreign nations, *see* Schurer, *HJP*, II.II.165-68 with sources. Windisch interprets Jesus' exorcistic activities as a Christian spiritualization of this messianic war. Cf. also Rawlinson, *Mark*, Introduction, p. L. Such an interpretation, while containing a valuable emphasis, goes a little too far; for the idea of a conquest of the Gentile powers, especially the Roman Empire, was continued for some time in early Christianity. For the Jewish background of the Messiah's conquest of demons, *see supra*, pp. 166-70.

[5] Gal. 1:4; I Cor. 2:6,8; II Cor. 4:4; 6:15; Eph. 2:2; John 12:31; Ep. of Barnabas 2:1; Tertullian, *Apol*. 37; *Marc*. V.18; Origen, *De Princ*. I.V.2; II.Vi.4; Cyril, on Luke 10:18 (Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I.808a); Jerome, *Adv. Pelagium*, II.15 (IV, p. 521). Cf. *supra*, pp. 167 ff.

[6] Mark 6:7-13; cf. 3:13-19a.

over them. They cringed before him and pleaded for mercy, imploring him not to destroy them. But he had continued to crush them at every encounter.[7]

Mark tells us that Jesus repeatedly and consistently forbade the demons to disclose the knowledge of his messiahship to anyone. In this way it was kept a profound secret for a long time and never really understood, even by the disciples, until after Jesus' death. What is Mark's purpose in such a presentation of the messianic secret? It seemed to him necessary to explain the fact that people did not recognize Jesus' greatness. Otherwise, many would have questions about the exalted status of his hero since he was not recognized by his contemporaries. He shows that it was a part of the divine plan for Jesus' real position to be concealed until after his death and exaltation to heaven, when the time became ripe for its disclosure. This is Mark's way of explaining the important historical fact that Jesus' followers did not conceive of him as Apocalyptic Messiah until after his death. But he is convinced that Jesus knew in advance of his exalted status, that the demons with their supernatural knowledge recognized it and acknowledged it in his presence, but that he did not permit them to make it public until the proper time. And his conquest of demons was for Mark one of the strongest proofs of Jesus' messiahship.

But during his earthly career Jesus had fulfilled his messianic functions only in a partial and preliminary way. Upon his return from heaven with the angelic hosts he would achieve the final overthrow of the forces of evil and reign with unchallenged authority over the new age.[8]

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[7] Mark 1:24,34; 3:11 f.; 5:6 f.

[8] Cf. Windisch, Der messianische Krieg, and sources.

What was the significance of such a message for the readers of Mark in their relation to the state and the established regime? How did it help them in facing the political problems in their environment?

C. Conflict of Christianity and Roman Empire Inevitable

The strong political element in Jesus' mission made practically inevitable a basic conflict between Christianity and the state. In spite of Mark's efforts to tone down that antagonism,[9] it still existed as an unavoidable fact. Those who were eagerly looking forward to the early coming of the new age would view the transient existing order with suspicion if not actual hostility. And when they were subject to open persecution by the reigning powers their hatred and antagonism toward them would naturally become extremely bitter. That at least some of the Christian group have suffered persecution and even death for their faith, is quite clear from this Gospel.[10] The sufferings they were undergoing and the hatred by fellow-citizens had been foretold by Jesus himself. He had foreseen the inescapable conflict between his kingdom and the established political regime under which they were now living. And he had promised the final victory to all who could pass through the fires of persecution and remain loyal to their faith: "he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."[11]

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[9] He shows, for example, Herod's high estimate of John the Baptist and his reluctance to put him to death, Mark 6:26; also Pilate's attempts to save Jesus' life when the Jews clamor for it Mark 15:1-15; cf. 43-45. He presents Jesus as advising the payment of the regular tribute to the Roman government, apparently recognizing the justice of such obligations, Mark 12:13-17. But it is clear that the religious loyalty of Jesus' followers must take precedence over their political obligations.

[10] Mark 13:9-13 especially; cf. Riddle, "The Martyr Motif in the Gospel of Mark," Journal of Religion, IV, 397-410.

Another reference in Mark seems to have a bearing on this problem.

> Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God; but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables: that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand....[12]

This would have real meaning for the little group of Christians suffering persecution at the hands of the Roman state. They realized that their religion represented an attitude of potential revolt against the imperial government. They opposed it bitterly as an agency of Satan, and a barrier to the establishment of the true and righteous kingdom of the Messiah. But a considerable degree of secrecy was still necessary for their protection. The full political significance of the Christian movement could not yet be made public. It must be kept from the government to save them from annihilation. This note of prudent warning is given by the author with the sanction of Jesus himself and the element of mystery is represented as characteristic of his teachings. But the initiated would know the full meaning of the political hostility involved.

D. The Empire as Antichrist

This antagonism was inevitable also because the rulers of the present age were the representatives of Satan. It was Satan who had opposed the progress of the Christian movement from the beginning. It was he who had put Jesus to death.[13] And it was he who was now exerting every effort to destroy the kingdom of Christ by putting to death his loyal followers.[14] The political powers were merely acting as his agents in this diabolical task of persecution.[15]

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[11] Mark 13:13.

[12] Mark 4:11 f. Undoubtedly this passage also had meaning for Mark in connection with the current emphasis upon the element of "mystery" or cult secrets reserved for the initiates in the various cult groups of the time. According to the psychology then current a religion with its esoteric features was for superior to one that was known to all. But the political significance is also there. Undoubtedly the real meaning of the use of parables for Jesus himself was far different than either of these.

Tradition and experience combined in this Christian conviction that the Roman Empire was a satanic agency, the supreme human power that opposed the forces of righteousness and the new age which they represented.[16] This concept involved the theory of the Antichrist, which had a long and varied history in Jewish and Christian thinking. The idea has its first literary expression in the book of Daniel,[17] where it is applied to Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) of Syria who persecuted and slew the faithful Jews, set up a pagan altar on the altar of burnt offering in the Jerusalem temple ("the abomination that maketh desolate"), polluted the holy sanctuary by unclean sacrifices, claimed divine honors for himself, and committed other blasphemies in his ruthless campaign against the righteous.[18] After the fall of the Syrian kingdom and the rise of Rome, this idea of a God-opposing political power was transferred to this new world-empire or to her individual rulers. As was customary in the interpretation of apocalyptic predictions, the meaning was frequently revised by being brought down to date and applied to the most recent crisis.[19] Thus, in Ps. Sol., Pompey the Great is identified with this figure because of his profanation of the Temple by entering the Holy of Holies after his capture of Jerusalem.[20] Caligula's order for the erection of his statue in the temple at Jerusalem must have led some pious Jews to see in this act the filfillment of the "abomination of desolation" prediction.[21] The authors of II Baruch, IV, Ezra, and the Assumption of Moses all find in the Roman Empire or one of her rulers the embodiment of the Antichrist.[22]

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[13] *See* n. 35, pp. 10 f. above. Cf. the implication in the temptation accounts of Matt. 4:8 f. and Luke 4:5-7 that Satan is in control of the kingdoms of the world.

[14] The conception that persecutions of the church were instigated by demons came to be a commonplace in early Christianity Cf. Rev. 2:10; I Pet. 5:8; Ignatius, *Magn*. 1:2; Justin, *Apol*., Chs. 5,10,12,57; 2d *Apol*. Ch. 1; *Dial. c. Try*., Ch. 18; Tertullian, *Apol*. 27; *Scorp*. 1; *Perpet*. 20:1; Hippolytus, *Dan*. I, 15:4; III, 24:7; *Comm. on Susannah*, sec. 10; Minucius 27:7 f.; 31:1; Lactantius, *Inst*. IV.27:8; V.21:1-6; Origen, *Cels*. III.29; IV.32; VIII. 43 f., 54 f.; *Mart*. 32; Eusebius, *EH*, V.1; VIII.4; IX.7; *Praep. Ev*. sec. 9d (Gifford); Cadoux, *ECW*, pp. 141, 167 f.; 249 and n. 2; 251 and n. 3; 341 and n. 3; 344 and n. 5; 516 and n. 1; Weinel, *Die Wirkungen d. Geistes*, pp. 18, 26.

[15] Cf. I Cor. 2:8; 15:24-28; Luke 4:6 f.; John 19:11; Rev. 2:10; 13:2.

[16] This idea was not uniformly held by all the early Christians. Paul, e.g., had clearly recognized the Roman empire as divinely ordained for its task (Rom. 13:1-7). He even saw it as the power that restrained the destructive activities of the Antichrist (II Thess. 2:3-7.

[17] The term Antichrist first appears in I John 2:18,22; 4:3; II John 7, where it is interpreted quite differently.

Mark, in the midst of the Little Apocalypse, also refers to the Antichrist but without using the term. He pictures Jesus explaining to four chosen disciples the eschatological events which are to precede the coming of the apocalyptic Messiah. After describing the persecutions to be suffered by the faithful and assuring the final triumph of those who endure these sufferings, he continues, "But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judea flee unto the mountains."[23] The reference here[24] is evidently to the capture of Jerusalem by the Roman army and the abomination of desolation is the political power of Rome, as a state, or an individual in whom that power is embodied. Some scholars have thought of the passage as referring to a false religious teacher, but several facts make the political interpretation more likely than the religious. The usage of the Antichrist concept by other writers has already been cited briefly to show the currency of the political interpretation. But the practical experiences of the writer and readers of the Gospel are far more determinative of its meaning than are any literary parallels. The context reveals a tense persecution situation. The apostles Peter and Paul had already been put to death by the Roman officials as the price of loyalty to their faith.[25] Other Christians had suffered a like fate in the Neronian outburst against the new sect. And no doubt many who had escaped death had been subject to suspicion and hatred that made life in Roman society extremely difficult for them. The more they had suffered, the more firmly would they be convinced of the righteousness of their cause, and the stronger would be their conviction that the empire was an agency of Satan the arch-persecutor of the Christian movement.

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[18] Dan. 7:19-27; 8:9-14; 9:27; 11:31-45; 12:11. *See* esp. Charles, *Rev.* in *ICC*, II, 76-87 for a valuable discussion on the Antichrist, Beliar and Neronic myths and their ultimate fusion in Christian literature.

[19] This is still occurring in our own time. *See* Charles' application of the "great moral and spiritual truth" involved, to the Central Powers and the Kaiser during the World War, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 f.

[20] Ps. Sol. 2:29; cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[21] Torrey so interprets the reference in Mark 13:14 and it is quite possible that this meaning was in the mind of the author of the original "Little Apocalypse" of this chapter. If the order of Caligula had been carried out, such an interpretation would have been general.

[22] II Bar. 36:5; 39:3; 40:1 f.; IV Ez. 5:3-6; 11:40 ff.; 12:11 f.; Ass. Moses 10:8; *see also* Rev. chs. 13 and 17 and Charles, pp. 77-79 and Vol. I, pp. 341 f. for further details; *also* Bousset, "Antichrist," *ERE*, I, 578-81; *Rel. d. Jud.*, 3d, pp. 255 f.

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[23] Mark 13:14.

[24] It is necessary to keep clearly in mind that we are considering the meaning of the passage for the author, not for Jesus (if the words are originally his).

[25] Mark 13:9 clearly shows a familiarity with Paul's experience at Rome and elsewhere. Tradition places Peter's death at about the same time.

The existence of the imperial cult and the importance it held in the religious life of this period intensified the Christians' convictions that the state was Satan's representative. The claims of the emperors to divine honors would link them (for the Christians) with demonic pagan deities that were the servants of Satan. To grant these imperial claims would be treason to their own divine King who would soon be the supreme ruler over all. Hence loyalty to their Christ involved opposition to the demands of the imperial cult. In opposing this they were opposing the Antichrist, Satan's most powerful representative on earth.

This estimate of the government or its ruler as the Antichrist had undoubtedly been intensified by the cruelty, bloodshed, and chaos of Nero's later years and the violence and disorder of the empire under his successors. Such a government (thought the Christians) surely must be under the domination of Satan the ruler of this godless present age.

If the author wrote before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. the siege must already have been in progress and the final outcome practically certain in his mind. If he wrote after the capture of the city his words would be even more pointed in their application to the great calamity. Certainly the destruction of the city at that time was a grimly realistic fulfillment of the prediction here attributed to Jesus. It is also perfectly evident that the readers of this message would grasp the significance of the reference without the use of plainer language or the mention of a particular individual as Antichrist.[26] The parenthetical suggestion "let him that readeth understand" implies that a little alertness on their part will recall the important incident with which they are quite familiar.[27] Thus, whether the Gospel was written shortly before or soon after the fall of Jerusalem, the interpretation of Rome (or her ruler, military leaders, etc.) as the Antichrist, the God-opposing power, working under satanic control, is clearly set forth and understood by its readers.[28]

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[26] Streeter (The Four Gospels, pp. 492 ff.) builds too much on the masculine gender of a participle in his argument for a personal Antichrist. But certainly the leader of the invading Roman army that laid waste the city and the Temple would sufficiently meet the requirements of the text if any individual

E. The Christians' Assurance of Final Triumph

In the light of these elements of the political situation the question arises as to the political significance of Mark's message of Jesus' victory over Satan and his hosts. The answer is obvious. The followers of Jesus who are now living in the midst of a cruel, chaotic and godless political order are in

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were needed. The context clearly demands a political (or military) leader if an individual is in the author's mind. There is of course the possibility that the author was thinking of the return of Nero to set up his empire at Jerusalem, since there was such a belief, current in 69 A.D. (as well as in later years), but this theory has far less concrete evidence to support it. Cf. Charles, op. cit., pp. 80 ff.

[27] The danger in using language that was perfectly open an unambiguous for a group in Rome at this time is quite obvious; if the document should be discovered by the officials the results for the Christian group would be disastrous. Here again the element of mystery proves of great value.

[28] The religious interpretation of the Antichrist such as we find, e.g., in II Thess. 2:1-12, is out of place here. The problems that are most pressing at Rome at this time are those of practical social and political relationships, not those of doctrine. It must be further noted that the references to the false Christs (Mark 13:5 f.,21,23) are not integrally bound up with the Abomination of Desolation. Moreover false Christs are not Antichrist. If Charles is right in his conclusion (Rev. I. 341 f.) that Rev. 13:1-10 is based on a Jewish Apocalypse, written about 70 A.D. by a Pharisaic Quietist, and depicting Rome as Antichrist, it furnishes further evidence of this political interpretation at this time. The same scholar says of the interpretation of Daniel's "abomination of desolation," "This is the universal view of the first century A.D." Rev., II, 79.

CHAPTER XIV

MARKAN EXORCISM: ITS RELIGIO-ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE

In the broadest sense of the terms, all of the aspects thus far considered in our evaluation of the Markan message (physical, social and political) had far-reaching religious and ethical significance; for all of them were inseparably bound up with the quest for more abundant living by this group of early Christians. But the term "religio-ethical" is employed in this chapter in the traditional, narrower (though less adequate) sense. The religious and ethical aspects were for the first century so inextricably interwoven that we are dealing with them together. And they are also closely linked with the other human values already considered.

A. A Sense of Cosmic Security

I. Prevalent Fear of Cosmic Powers

One of the supreme satisfactions which any adequate religion provides for its devotees is a sense of security, an assurance of at-homeness in the universe. This need was particularly urgent in the first century. People in the Roman Empire were living in an atmosphere of cosmic insecurity and dread. The obstacles to physical well-being baffled many of the common people in their search for a satisfactory existence. The glaring injustices of a social order permeated with slavery and oppression made any genuine social stability impossible. The constant pressure of poverty crushed out the attitudes of self-respect and mastery of life's problems which are indispensable to any real security. The control of all of life by an autocratic imperial power which forced unquestioned obedience and submission on the individual left little room for the development of personal initiative and achievement. In such a soil of physical, economic, social and political insecurity, the growth of apprehension and pessimism in cosmic attitudes was inevitable.

People were dominated by fears of unseen hostile powers that might bring disaster at any moment.[1] According to current popular conceptions, cosmic forces were under the control of an irresponsible Fortune, a blind Necessity, or an inexorable Fate.[2] In any case, there was extremely little opportunity left for man to find a real home in a friendly universe. For others, the great astral powers which exerted a profound influence on the human life were largely hostile.[3] Angus aptly summarizes the current dread of cosmic powers which prevailed in this period.

> Life was threatened and made wretched by the tyranny of Fate, the caprice of Fortune, the malice of ubiquitous demons, the crushing weight of Astralism, the dread of Magic...,and the mystery of Death.[4]

In his epistle to the Romans, Paul clearly reflects this current fear. He represents the cosmos itself as groaning and travailing in pain, eagerly awaiting the coming of Christ. Even the physical universe was considered to be under the dominion of malevolent powers, but Christ brought salvation from their tyranny.[5] The letter to the Ephesians likewise shows that men's supreme enemies are not human, but are cosmic, demonic forces that threaten at every turn.

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[1] For a fuller discussion of various aspects of this situation, cf. supra, pp. 254-314.

[2] For discussion of these various interpretations see Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity (Chicago, 1914), pp. 242 ff.

[3] Cf. I En. 18:13 ff.; 21:6; Bousset, Rel. d. Jud. (2 Aufl., Berlin, 1906), p. 372; Eisenmenger, Entdecktes Judentum, 5 vols. (Dresden, 1893), II, 383 ff.; Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 73-79; Montgomery, AITN (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 98 and nn.

[4] The Mystery Religions and Christianity (New York, 1925), p. 51.

> For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.[6]

A full salvation for the people of the first century demanded liberation from these evil cosmic spirits. The most vital and vigorous of the cults of the period guaranteed such a salvation.

> Fate might not be wholly evaded, but by union with the mystery-gods its blows would not crush man. The initiate of the gods could not be overwhelmed by *Fatum irrevocabile* or by *Fors inopinata*, for the mystery-gods were lords of the baleful powers. Deliverance from malefic demons was found in becoming a devotee of a deity more potent than they. Even the planets, which exercised such a momentous influence over man's destiny, lost much of their terror when the mystery-deity became a heavenly deity, with whom the soul of the deceased initiate would mount to all the spheres to the highest heaven.[7]

II. Jesus as Conqueror of Evil Cosmic Powers

Like many other Christian writers, Mark was keenly conscious of this great cosmic conflict between the powers of good and those of evil. He saw the deep need for release from the domination of the evil cosmic spirits. And he made it clear, in his picture of Jesus, that he was the champion of the forces of righteousness who had repeatedly proved his mastery over all cosmic powers that challenged his supremacy. The destructive forces of the winds and waves had threatened the lives of Jesus and his disciples by sending a violent storm on the lake. They had treacherously attacked while Jesus was asleep. But the Master awoke and subdued them with a mere word of command.[8] He had shown his superiority over the ordinary course of "nature" by walking upon the water,[9] by his miraculous multiplication of food for the hungry crowds,[10] and by withering a fig tree with a curse.[11]

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[5] Rom. 8:22; cf. Deissmann, "Elements," *Enc. Bib.*, Vol. II, cols. 1258-62; Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie und Daemonologie* (Göttingen, 1888), pp. 105 ff.; Easton, "The Pauline Theology and Hellenism," *AJT*, XXI (1917), 359-62.

[6] Eph. 6:11 f.; cf. Angus, *RQGRW* (New York, 1929), pp. 36, 278.

[7] Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*, p. 51.

According to some types of thinking in the first century, especially among the Stoics, there was a far-reaching "sympathy" that linked the deeds of a great character and the forces of the cosmos. The latter were said to be profoundly influenced by the former. Our author shows that Jesus possessed such cosmic power and significance. He tells us that the catastrophe of Jesus' death on the cross brought about total darkness, at noon, for a period of three hours, "upon the whole earth."[12] Jesus had also conquered the demonic monster, Death, and had been exalted to heavenly dignity at God's right hand. But his conquest of cosmic powers is not yet complete. In carrying out his program as heavenly Messiah in the future he will achieve other victories over these demons. Before the final establishment of his messianic reign, the sun and the moon are to be darkened and the hostile astral powers are to be violently shaken in a great cosmic catastrophe. This will be a proof of, and an important step in the establishment of, his complete mastery throughout the universe.[13]

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[8] Mark 4:37-41; cf. the stilling of the wind in Mark 6:51. The realism of this conflict is still preserved in a hymn in use today, a part of which runs, "Whether the wrath of the storm-tossed sea; or demons or men or whatever it be; no water can swallow the ship where lies, The master of ocean and earth and skies. They all shall sweetly obey Thy will; Peace, be still...." etc.

[9] Mark 6:48.

[10] Mark 6:35-44; 8:1-9.

[11] Mark 11:12-14,20-22.

[12] Mark 15:33. He speaks also of the splitting of the veil in the Temple (15:38). Matthew adds the earthquake and the resurrection and appearances of the dead saints (Matt. 27:51-53).

This emphasis upon Jesus as the conqueror of cosmic powers of evil represents an interesting transformation of the early Davidic type of messianic hope to this characteristic Gentile concept. We find some cosmic elements in the picture of late Jewish Messianism but they are more Gentile than Jewish, and no doubt represent foreign influences.[14] In Mark the emphasis is to be expected, in the light of current Graeco-Roman needs and of the guarantees of the other cults that are flourishing in the Mediterranean world. It is not Mark's own creation but is an interpretation used by a number of Christian writers living in the Gentile environment.[15] It is a typical case of Christianity's ability to adapt itself to the vital needs of those whom it served.

The author's purpose in this presentation of Jesus as master of all cosmic powers is obviously practical. By it he assures his fellow-Christians that they too can be victorious over these hostile forces. Their great Master, the divine Christ, can guarantee his loyal devotees immunity from all attacks of these dreaded demonic powers. He has made possible the conquest of fear that has haunted their lives. With his divine power they can live with the confidence that they will triumph over life's ills. Jesus has brought to those who ally themselves with him a genuine sense of security. They can now find themselves at home in a friendly universe with the assurance of victorious living.

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[13] Mark 13:24-26; cf. Paul's picture of the final subjection of all spirit-powers to the exalted Jesus. Phil. 2:9-11; Rom. 8: 35-39. Tatian, Address to the Greeks, 4,9 f.,12; Angus, RQGRW, p. 278.

[14] Probably the first, historically, of these influences was Persian dualism; cf. supra, pp. 158-61.

[15] Cf. sources in n. 13 above. Moreover, Ch. 13 of Mark was probably a separate apocalypse incorporated by the author of our Gospel.

B. Victory over Death

But Jesus' guarantees of victory do not end with the present life. He has also conquered man's final enemy, Death. This inevitable, universal foe had to be faced by every individual. Like many other cosmic functions, Death was often personalized as a demon.[16] In early Christian (and contemporary Jewish) thought Satan was the one ultimately responsible for death, though the specific function was sometimes assigned to a demonic associate The final goal of Satan's attacks upon human beings was to bring about the death of his victims. And the fear of death was deep-rooted and widespread in Roman life.

I. The Conquest of Death in Contemporary Religions

The Mystery cults put great stress on the victory over death which their deities guaranteed. These gods of the various cults had in many cases suffered death themselves, but by their divine power they had triumphed over it. This victory over the dread monster enabled them to give to their devotees the assurance of a similar mastery over the great enemy, and of a blissful immortality.[17]

A characteristic expression of this faith in the devotee's victory over death is found in an inscription, "As truly as Osiris lives, the initiate shall live; as truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die; as truly as Osiris is not annihilated, shall he not be annihilated."[18] Mithra also was an invincible champion of the righteous against all baleful spirits that threatened the soul after death. "As an antagonist of the infernal powers, he insured the welfare of his followers in the future life as well as on earth."[19] He was the faithful keeper of his true devotees, "in both worlds...from the fiend Death, from the fiend Aeshma, from the fiendish hordes that lift up the spear of havoc and from the onsets of Aeshma."[20] The Mandean savior Hibil (or Manda *d* Haije) likewise guaranteed his votaries a complete triumph over death and all malicious spirits that might beset the soul on its ascent to the Realm of Light.[21]

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[16] See Rom. 5:12-14,17,21; 6:16,21,23; 7:13; I Cor. 15:24-26.

[17] See Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration (Chicago, 1929), Index on "Immortality"; Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity; Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-Religionen (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1927).

The examples here cited are but typical of many that might be cited from the Mystery cults to show the assurances they gave their initiates of the conquest of death and all associated evil powers. We may summarize in Angus' words,

> To those moving nervously in a world disturbed by puissant demons they promised union with a deity to whom even the demons were servants....To those 'servile to skey influence' they effected *henosis* with a cosmic deity to whom the astral gods and the elements were in submission. To those overwhelmed by the sense of finitude they opened 'the path to the stars' or secured participation in the life of the deity. To those oppressed by the dread of death they imparted demortalizing sacraments guaranteeing immortality through deification....For the dying a *viaticum* was provided and prayers and promises for the closing hours.[22]

II. Jesus' Triumph Insures Victory for His Devotees

Mark was living and writing in a world where these religions were flourishing, and undoubtedly was familiar with at least their main features. He was presenting his message to those who were thinking in these terms. In his presentation he shows clearly that his cult-deity too had conquered the great universal foe of mankind, the demon of death. Satan had seemed to be triumphing when he brought about the death of the great Messiah.[23] But this experience had been merely one step in the divine plan which led to Jesus' ultimate triumph. The Messiah had conquered death and had been exalted to a position of heavenly power and glory at God's right hand. By his conquest of man's last great enemy he was qualified to bestow upon his devotees the power to triumph over it. Those who came into the right relationship with him need have no more fear of the grim monster. They were forever free from his power. Jesus' giving of his life in this way had proved to be a ransom to save men from the power of Satan.[24] Mark shows that the dying-and-rising deity of the Christian cult is second to none in the guarantee of victory over death and the assurance of a blessed immortality which he furnishes his followers.

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[18] CIL. III.1090; quoted by Easton, *AJT*, XXI (1917), 373.

[19] Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1911), p. 158.

[20] Yasht 10:93.

[21] Pallis, *Mandaean Studies* (London, 1926), pp. 177, 189 f. with sources cited.

[22] Angus, *RQGRW*, p. 78. Cf. *supra*, pp. 376 f. with sources.

Jesus' great contribution to human welfare in his conquest of death continued to be regarded as one of his supreme services to the race. A later Christian leader in writing to the Roman Church also saw in this release of mankind from the clutches of Satan, the death-demon, the major purpose of Jesus' human career. He says that Jesus assumed human form, "that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." No more glorious good news than this[25] could come to the demon-haunted and fear-burdened people for whom Mark wrote.

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[23] For a discussion of Satan as the one responsible for Jesus' death, see supra, n.35 , pp. 10 f.

[24] Mark 10:45. The exact meaning of this to the author cannot be stated with certainty. Rawlinson, Mark, pp. 146-48 gives a good summary of interpretations and of the linguistic usage

The promise of a blissful immortality for those who became devotees of the Christian cult is the more significant when we recall that only the select few had any such hope held out to them in the old Roman religion. Great heroes and benefactors of mankind were deified and raised to heavenly or astral glory to enjoy a happy immortality. Titus at the siege of Jerusalem spurred his soldiers to their bravest efforts by reminding them of this glorious hope.

> For who is there who does not know, that those souls of virtuous men which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battle by the sword, are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars; that they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and shew themselves as such, to their posterity afterwards?[26]

Cicero also testifies to this widespread Roman belief. He says,

> To all who have saved, succored or aggrandized their country, a fixed place in which they shall enjoy everlasting bliss is assigned in heaven, for it is from heaven that they who guide and guard cities have descended, thither to reascend.[27]

But these promises were not for the common run of mortals. The masses of men had little hope of a happy future life from the

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involved, with stress upon the vicarious function in saving from the demons (as Gentiles would understand it). It is at least a possibility that, for Romans, Jesus' death may have had something of the significance of a devotio in saving his followers from their enemies, the satanic hosts. Cf. supra, pp. 338-40 with sources.

[25] Heb. 2:14 f.

[26] Josephus, Jewish Wars, VI. I.5; Whiston's trans. (Rev. by Margoliouth), p. 857.

[27] Cicero, Republic, VI.13 (Somn. Scipionis 3); cf. Pro. Sestio, 68, par. 143; quoted in Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (New Haven, 1922), pp. 113 f. and n. 10, p. 113; cf. pp. 110-27. See Dill, RSNA (2d ed.; London, 1905), pp. 484-528; Case, Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times (New York, 1929), pp. 114 ff., 264-99.

old Roman faith. But Christianity and the Mysteries made such hopes available to the average individual. Thus they met a deep popular need in their guarantee of future bliss for the common man, and here is one of the chief reasons for their hold upon the people.

III. Victory through the Indwelling Spirit

In his characteristic manner our author avoids any detailed theological discussion as to how Jesus guarantees victory over death. He is concerned with the fact and leaves to others the complete explanation. But the implication is sufficiently clear that it was his endowment by the divine Spirit that empowered him for such a conquest. Through it he had driven away the demon of death from the daughter of Jairus,[28] and through it he also had triumphed over death when himself assailed by it. The reader would plainly see that if he too had become endowed with the Holy Spirit his protection would be assured. Baptism in the powerful name of Jesus and participation in the Lord's Supper were the valid means for inducing and nurturing the presence of the Spirit.[29] Hence they were the indispensable methods for insuring one's victory over death, as well as over the other demonic forces that threatened him. In the struggle with a social and a cosmic order filled with so many hardships, injustices and even disasters, it was a source of genuine comfort and confidence to have this assurance of final triumph over all one's foes, both in this life and the next. This gave unbounded hope and courage where there had been paralyzing fear.

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[28] Mark 5:35-43.

[29] Cf. supra, pp. 498-502.

C. Increased Sense of Moral Worth of Personality

I. Release for Frustrated Personalities

For people living in the all-pervasive atmosphere of supernaturalism that dominated the first century, the supreme perils to a worthful moral life were invisible, demonic forces. Morally, as well as in other aspects of daily experience, people were living in an awful bondage to these satanic spirits. They led men into sin by manifold temptations.[30] They blinded their hearts to the truth.[31] They sought to alienate men from the message of salvation which Jesus brought.[32] They persecuted the loyal followers of Jesus to persuade them to renounce their faith.[33] In a word, the demonic control of life made any significant moral achievement impossible.

Plutarch's vivid description of the moral and intellectual chaos produced by the sway of superstition over the masses doubtless reveals the mental attitudes of many for whom Mark was written. The fears he depicts were the fears that haunted them.

> Superstition...makes no truce with sleep, nor grants to the soul then, at least, to repose,...but as it were in the realm of the damned, it raises up in the sleep...terrific phantoms, monsters, apparitions, and tortures of all kinds; scaring the miserable soul, it chases it out of the refuge of sleep with spectres;...for the superstitious there is no world in common with the rest; for neither when awake does he enjoy the rational world, nor when asleep does he escape from the terrifying one; but his reason is always a-dreaming, he fears even when awake - escape is impossible....To the superstitious man, every infirmity of body, every loss of money or loss of children, every unpleasantness or failure in political matters, are called 'plagues from God,' and 'assaults of the demons,' consequently, he ventures not to help himself under what has happened, nor to remedy it, nor to resist it, lest he should appear to fight against God, and to resist when he is chastised; but, if sick, the physician is pushed away; if in

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[30] Mark 1:12 f. Cf. supra, pp. 115-21.
[31] II Cor. 4:4; cf. 16:14 ff. in Freer MS.
[32] Mark 4:15.
[33] Cf. supra, pp. 52 f. and sources.

> sorrow, the philosopher who comes to advise and comfort him has the door slammed in his face. 'Let me alone (says he), my good fellow, to suffer my punishment - impious, accursed as I am, hateful to gods and demons.'[34]

Mark's message of Jesus' mastery of these insidious forces brought hope of liberation from this bondage; it was in reality the good news of release for the captives.[35] It brought freedom from a deadly fear that had crushed and paralyzed moral initiative. It released the imprisoned mental and moral powers of the individual. It instilled new hope and courage, developed stamina and self-respect, and opened the way for the growth of all positive moral qualities. It made possible the real integration of frustrated, divided, morbid and "inferior" personalities, giving the sense of worth and mastery that are indispensable to genuinely moral living. While the need for such psychological liberation was undoubtedly most urgent among those who were suffering from "possession," and others of highly sensitive and emotional temperaments, there were multitudes of others who were also deeply possessed by such fears; and to all of them the good news came as a veritable godsend.

II. Union with Deity

The secret of this liberation of the moral powers of the individual, of this new sense of confidence and mastery, was in the relationship of the devotee to deity. According to much of the current religious thought of the first century there must be a thoroughly religious basis for all morality. In most circles this involved a divine origin for all worthful moral experiences. This was often interpreted in a strictly metaphysical sense. The deity must in a very realistic way be present in the individual devotee so as to bring about a close union of human and divine. In Mark, as in Paul and the Mystery cults, this realistic presence of the divine Spirit was the basis for all Christian morality as well as of other spiritual blessings. The "insert of divinity" within the initiate transformed his personality so that he partook of the divine nature. With the changes brought about by this divine essence dwelling within him all demonic spirits and influences were driven out. With the polluting "sin-germs" banished it was possible for the individual to achieve a high type of morality worthy of his cult-deity and in harmony with the will of the supreme God.

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[34] Plutarch, On Superstition, King's trans. (London, 1882), pp. 260-66 passim; cf. supra, pp. 298 f. with sources.

[35] Cf. Luke 4:18; Heb. 2:14 f.

This realistic union with deity gave the devotee firm ground for hope of moral victory in all the struggles and even persecutions that he must encounter. It would bring triumph for him as it had for his hero-god before him.[36] Thus armed with this divine essence within his being he could face life's battles with courage and the assurance of success. For he was not depending on his own human power. His own resources were re-enforced and augmented by the power of his deity with whom he was united.[37]

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[36] Cf. I John 3:6,8 f. "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither knoweth him.... To this end was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God." This shows clearly the realistic metaphysical basis of Christian morality in one of the most highly ethical documents of the New Testament. Cf. Paul in Rom. 8:5-17.

[37] The Markan emphasis on union with deity is far less realistic and emotional in its expression than that of Paul or of many of the Mystery cults. There is no mention of the ecstatic element in Mark. But he seems clearly to take for granted the Pauline basis, though his is more unemotional in temperament and terminology. Cf supra, pp.376 f. See Willoughby, Pagan Regeneration for ample evidence of this experience in the Mysteries.

Such an alliance gave the first century man or woman a sense of dignity and a vibrant new meaning to life which it is difficult for the modern scientific mind to appreciate. A portion of a Hermetic prayer may help us recover its mood.

> Thy name and thy Spirit are upon me for good. Enter into my mind and my heart all the day of my life and fulfill all the desires of my soul. For thou art I and I thou; what I say may it always come to pass. For they name I hold as a charm in my heart and no menacing hand shall ever have power over me, and on account of thy name which I hold in my soul no spirit or demon or phantom or any evil presence from Hades shall rise up against me.[38]

Mark shows that the devotee who has been united with deity through the experience of the indwelling divine Spirit is similarly equipped for a life of moral victory.

D. Intimate Group Fellowship

I. Moral and Spiritual Values Mediated by the Group

This sense of divine companionship and guidance found its fullest meaning and expression in an intimate fellowship with others within the Christian group. In fact it would have been impossible without the group. Religion in the first century, as in any other age, was fundamentally a social experience: it was a shared quest for life's supreme values by those bound together by common ideals and purposes. Its satisfactions were shared satisfactions. Although much stress in Hellenistic Christianity is placed upon the relation of the individual to his divine Lord, such experiences would never have developed but for the existence of the little local cult-groups in the various communities. It was the cult-group, through its official leadership, that mediated the rite of baptism by which the individual Christian was endowed with the Holy Spirit and brought into union with deity. It was the cult-group that mediated to him the life-giving power of the Lord's Supper by which his divine nature was renewed from time to time. Christians were bound together by the consciousness of sharing in the same divine Spirit and following a common Lord. The ties which held them were stronger and more significant than the most intimate bonds of family life.[39] The privileges and responsibilities of this new brotherhood took precedence over all others, for they were the nucleus of the new and perfect society that was soon to be established.

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[38] Hermes' Prayer I.11 f.; Greek text in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 17 f.

II. Sharers in a Common Task

Those who, through the power and the Spirit of Christ, had been freed from all demonic dangers and made common partakers in a glorious new life, were also sharers in a common task. When Jesus was exalted to heaven he left to them the responsibility of continuing the program which he had begun. They were to prepare a select group for worthy membership in the new messianic kingdom which Christ would inaugurate upon his return to earth. They were thus given a chance of active participation in a divine enterprise - the greatest ever undertaken by man. They were having their share in building the new Golden Age that was soon to be actualized in human society.

This sharing together in a common faith, hope and program by the members of the local Christian groups throughout the empire, was one of the best ways to give life real meaning for the individual. It gave him wholesome recognition, self-respect and moral worth. He developed a sense of the profound significance of personality, both of himself and of others. Bound together in such a glorious fellowship the followers of the divine Christ became "more than conquerors" in facing the bitter experiences of life in a hostile world.

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[39] Mark 3:31-35.

PART V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The Gospel of Mark interprets Jesus' career and his significance for humanity primarily in terms of his conquest of invisible, evil spirits that wrought havoc among men. We have sought to discover the reasons for this central emphasis upon these exorcistic activities. We have seen that these reasons were bound up inseparably with the maleficent operations of demons in relation to all human interests. First century life was everywhere infested with these demonic hordes that were the bearers of all of men's ills. Jews and Gentiles alike were threatened by demons, and made provisions to conquer them as the indispensable prerequisite to a satisfying life for the individual, for the family and for society as a whole. We have interpreted demonology and exorcism in Mark against the background of the conditions and needs of the time and of the vital meaning of such phenomena in the Roman world. We have been concerned chiefly with the social and religious values that the release from the assaults of evil spirits brought to people in their daily experiences. With this practical rather than a technical interest uppermost, we have throughout the study included under the term exorcism all types of both apotropaic and expulsive practices.

A. Exorcism in Early Christianity

Although exorcism occupies a bigger place proportionately in Mark than in other early Christian writings it is by no means limited to this document or to the people it served. Rather it represents one of the major interests that persisted in the Christian movement for centuries. This is reflected, with varying emphases, in much of the Christian literature from Paul to Augustine. It shows that the need for freedom from the attacks of these hostile superhuman powers was a basic human need which early Christianity met. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts, many of the Epistles and the Apocalypse of John all show that the supreme enemies to the achievement of a worthful life, for present and future, are Satan and his demonic hosts. The same atmosphere prevails in the Christian circles represented by the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the New Testament Apocrypha and leading Church Fathers from Tertullian to Augustine.

The functions of the satanic forces vary greatly, according to the dominant problems and needs of the particular group represented. Sickness, temptations to all kinds of moral perversions, persecution of the faithful, the teaching of heretical doctrines, the promulgation of pagan cults and current social practices, and many other activities that endanger the individual or the Christian group are attributed to demonic sources.

Methods of conquering the demons likewise vary, both those ascribed to Jesus and those practiced by the Christians. In some accounts Jesus is credited with the expulsion of demons from possessed individuals, in others his victories over Satan are interpreted in cosmic terms. The methods employed by Christian exorcists include the use of the name of Jesus (often accompanied by a recital of his deeds of power), breathing upon the possessed, and the use of the names of angels, of passages of Scripture, and of the cross. In some cases great stress is placed upon various forms of piety, particularly prayer and fasting. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are often thought to possess great sacramental efficacy in protecting Christians from the malicious spirits.

The general trend was toward more elaborate forms of procedure until the task required the attention of a special official group of exorcists within the church.

B. Exorcism in Hebrew and Jewish Circles

The popular religion of the Hebrews was permeated by ever-present fear of demons that lurked everywhere to do them harm. These evil powers were intimately associated with all the vital experiences of the people. They threatened them in their attempts at a satisfactory adjustment to geographical and climatic environment, in the problems connected with making their living, in their social relationships, in relation to disease and death, and in their contacts with other tribal and national groups.

The fact of demonic activity is supported by evidence from Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia and Egypt; by ancient Syrian and Canaanite practices; by excavations in these regions; and by present day practices in Syria, Arabia and Palestine; as well as by the Old Testament.

There are but slight traces of the existence and activity of evil spirits recognized by the official Yahweh cult. Those that are mentioned are brought directly under the control of Yahweh as his representatives. The Old Testament writers in their attempts to crush out these popular beliefs and practices have suppressed in their records much of the original demonic significance of many customs and events. But many evidences of the prevalence and the power of these spirits of evil are visible under the surface of the accounts.

For this and other reasons there is in the Old Testament no attempt at a careful description or classification of demons. For the most part they are vague and undefined spirits but potent for harm. Most of them are not definitely personalized. They resemble the jinn of Arabic lore, being closely bound together by a social solidarity that includes the whole group. Like the human society in which they operate their unity is strengthened by the bond of blood revenge. This fact increased the dread in which they were held.

In the exilic and post-exilic periods the baffling, crushing and inescapable ills of life made demons just as real and as sinister as ever. The people were still living in a pre-scientific age, without adequate knowledge of the causes of these disastrous experiences, and with no scientific technique of control over the powerful physical forces of their environment. The natural result was to interpret these causes as social objects (i.e., as more or less personalized forces), and act toward them accordingly.

The belief in these demonic forces operative in their life and the methods of adjusting themselves to their activities are to be understood in the light of their tribal experiences and general Semitic racial heritage for millenniums, rather than in terms of direct borrowing of a system of thought from any group. Contacts with the more elaborate systems of other peoples, especially Chaldean, Persian and Egyptian, modified to a marked degree the late Jewish demonology. This is seen particularly in the strong trend toward personalizing the evil spirits, in the development of a strong dualism involving the organization of demons into a hierarchy of evil powers under a demonic chief (often Satan, though various names are used), and in a growing interest in explaining the origin and nature of the demons.

The general acceptance of demonology in this period is amply attested by its prominence in Apocryphal, New Testament and other literature of the time. Its scarcity in the Mishna is to be explained as an attempt of the official religious leaders in Judaism to suppress this emphasis as dangerous to the orthodox Yahweh cult. But the popular attitudes were too strong to be ignored, hence they found official recognition in the later portions of the Talmud. Demonology and exorcism find expression both in Palestinian and in Babylonian circles, with the greater prominence in the latter.

Various methods of exorcism were used, but in general they may be characterized as either individual or social. The first were performed chiefly by private individuals and were primarily concerned with averting or expelling ills from individuals. The second were generally performed by the official religious leaders as public ritual and were for the purpose of protecting the whole social order. This distinction cannot always be maintained but it usually holds. Practices of exorcism which were social in character and were too deeply rooted in popular custom to be eliminated were taken over by the priestly system, "baptized" into the name of Yahweh and continued under official control as rites to the national deity. The most striking example of this is the scapegoat ceremony.

Private Jewish practices of apotropaic or expulsive significance included (1) general precautionary measures (such as keeping away from ruins, toilets, and cemeteries, washing of hands, avoiding even numbers and things that were wrapped, sealed, measured or numbered, fasting, eating salt, etc.), (2) a life of piety and devotion to the law of God, (3) the use of various charms and amulets, (4) the use of Scripture passages, (5) the use of the name of God, (6) of the names of angels, (7) of other powerful names (Jesus and Jewish heroes), (8) the employment of miscellaneous formulae, objects and practices, such as fumigation, the use of roots, of spittle, of the circle or the cross, touching with the hand, and anointing with oil. Some of these methods had the full approval of the official cult, hence from one point of view they were definitely social though performed by individuals.

Others were unapproved by official Judaism.

Social exorcism was needed to supplement the private practices. It was the most characteristically Jewish type, and was involved in much of the official ritual. In fact the protective value of most cult rites was one of their major functions. They were performed for the purpose of establishing with the deity the relationship that would guarantee his continued gifts of food, shelter, health and all the other necessities of a prosperous and happy existence. This involved protection from all hostile environing forces, largely demonic, or means of insuring victory over them. The official cult leaders gave little open recognition to this function of the ritual because of their positive interests in emphasizing an undivided loyalty to Yahweh and his demands upon them. But they regarded these rites as most efficacious for averting and expelling demons. These rituals had Yahweh's full sanction and authority back of them. They were also broader in scope than private practices, for they insured the general welfare of the community or the nation as a whole.

The chief official methods and objects of apotropaic and exorcistic value were (1) strict obedience to the Torah in a life of genuine piety (including the recital of the Shema twice daily, regular morning and evening prayers, reading of the Scriptures, especially passages containing the divine name, the use of Scripture texts on phylacteries and doorposts, the wearing of fringes on their garments, and the use of covenant salt), (2) the priestly vestments (especially bells and the oracle-pouch), (3) the "Aaronic" blessing containing the threefold use of the divine name, (4) the use of incense, (5) various forms of ritual purification (including blood rituals, the use of water, the sprinkling of ashes, the scapegoat ceremony, and the blowing of the ram's horn at New Year's).

The official cult leaders were strongly antagonistic to the performance of exorcism and allied practices by private individuals as violations of the law against all kinds of magic. The name of Yahweh was too sacred and too potent for indiscriminate use in such ways. The use of the names of foreign deities would imply a recognition of their power. This would be a violation of monotheism, hence disloyalty to Yahweh, and would endanger the welfare of the whole nation by bringing the wrath of the deity upon them. The strong social solidarity that bound the Jews into a unified national faith demanded complete conformity to established practices for the sake of the common good. Furthermore the official leaders considered themselves the guardians of the nation's welfare who must administer and perpetuate these sacred institutions unchanged. They viewed with fear and resentment the assumption of any of their exclusive powers and prerogatives by any presumptuous, untrained and unauthorized religious leaders. Hence in prohibiting the practice of exorcism they considered themselves loyal to their God and to the best interests of their people.

C. Exorcism in Roman Life

In early Roman life there was no interest in organization, technical terminology, formal classification or intellectual interpretation of hostile spirits. These spirits were undefined, vaguely-understood potencies that were invisible but an ever-present menace to humanity. They were inseparably linked with that sense of fear and awe that characterized Roman *religio* in all stages of its development.

These dangerous powers were involved both in man's relation to the physical and natural forces of his universe and in his contacts with other people, especially with strange or foreign groups. They were intimately associated with all the vital processes of food-getting, happy family life, the maintenance of health, and the successful continuance of the whole social and political order.

Very few of these forces were personalized. Silvanus and Mars, the spirits of the wild, uninhabited regions and the dangerous animals they harbored, and of the arts of warfare, were notable exceptions; but even these did not start fully developed.

Ghosts of the dead occupied a larger place in Roman thought and practice than any other type of harmful spirit.

By the imperial period, influences from Greek and Oriental cultures brought about changes in the Roman thought about demonic powers, but very little change in their basic functions in daily life. Through these influences the spirits (a) were classified in accordance with the Greek terminology, (b) became more personalized, and (c) often received individual names.

The growing complexity of city life, with a high degree of social, economic and political insecurity for the average individual, intensified the sense of insufficiency of his own powers, increased emotional instability and swelled the number of those who were "possessed" by demons. These tendencies were augumented during the period of "the Terror" under Nero and succeeding emperors, with a corresponding increase in the fear of evil spirits.

The spread of astrological beliefs and practices contributed a heavy quota to the already prevalent dread of demons, emphasizing particularly their cosmic significance. The growing influence in the Graeco-Roman world of a through-going dualism such as developed in Judaism and Mithraism tended to confirm the existing fears of sinister spirits by "the enthronement of an evil power beside the good."

The intellectuals who rejected the popular beliefs and fears made apologetic uses of demons. They interpreted them as intermediaries, thus making possible a genuine method of contact between transcendent deity and mortal humanity and saving the moral character of the gods. They also used them as weapons in their fight against the current superstitions that held the populace in the grip of fear. But their interpretations of the gods of the old faiths as demons must have seemed to the common people to give the sanction of the intellectuals to their own deep-seated fears.

Because of the persistence of this popular dread of demonic powers, exorcism was practiced for centuries, before, during and after the beginning of the Christian era. It was used by native Romans and by immigrant stocks from Greece and the Orient.

In the first century either the apotropaic or the expulsive element was involved in much of the official Roman ritual, in the ceremonies of the Mystery Religions and other imported cults, and in the private practice of professional exorcists. Procedures varied greatly in these different groups.

Many of the indigenous Roman practices were very ancient but continued for centuries among the conservative populace. (1) Official acts included a scapegoat ceremony, dancing and striking, sweeping, laughing, offering of sacrifices, acts of healing deities, spoken formulae, and prayer. (2) Rites of purification, considered very efficacious against evil forces, embraced various lustration rites; the use of potent objects called februa (such as fire, water, sulphur, salt, wool, blood, animal products, vegetable products); and unusual public rites such as games and Ludi Saeculares.

(3) Amulets, generally made from stones, metals, plants, parts of animals, parts of the human body, and various objects associated with deity.

The methods employed by imported cults may be classed under two major types: religious healing and exorcism proper. (1) Chief among the healing procedures were dream oracles, touching the patient, the use of drugs, surgery, serpents, bathing and various miscellaneous practices. (2) Exorcism involved the use of a divine name, of other symbols of deity (seals, images, etc.), various forms of piety, union with deity.

The practices of the professional exorcists included (1) the use of names of deity, (2) the utterance of strange and unintelligible words and phrases, (3) names of angels, (4) names of great historical characters (especially exorcists), (5) syncretistic use of names, (6) use of exorcist's own name, (7) Scripture passages, (8) supplementary procedures accompanying the above, (9) miscellaneous methods.

All these practices were built upon a basic world view of supernaturalism. All significant activities and events were supernaturally controlled. Both cause and cure of the various ailments were of a superhuman character. Every method employed depended for its efficacy upon the application of a divine power superior to the attacking demonic spirit.

The official attitude of the political authorities toward all who practiced magic arts was one of bitter hostility, because of the possible dangers to the reigning emperor from these men who possessed such occult knowledge.

In the increasing complexity and cosmopolitanism of the imperial period, with its stress upon the needs of the individual, the old official methods of the Roman religion proved more and more inadequate to safeguard society against its invisible foes. Both the Mystery Cults and the independent exorcists were more flexible and their methods better suited to the changing needs of individuals. Hence, these grew in favor, as compared with the old Roman religion, especially among the people of foreign extraction. Nevertheless, the rites of the latter continued in use for centuries among the conservative old Roman stock.

There was a noticeable trend toward syncretism in the methods of demonic control during this period, to meet the needs of a cosmopolitan population. This was most characteristic of the activities of the professional exorcists but not limited to them.

The most adequate and permanent type of mastery over evil powers by any non-Christian group was offered by the Mystery Cults in their guarantee of realistic unity with the deity whose presence banished every demon in this present life and assured conquest over them in a blessed immortality.

People in the first century looked to religion for release from hostile demons, and those cults which were most adequately meeting the vital religious needs of the time were successfully performing this important function.

D. Significance of Exorcism in the Gospel of Mark

Into this demon-infested atmosphere early Christianity came. It found the common people of the Roman world at the mercy of powerful hostile forces beyond their control. Political, economic, social and cosmic forces seemed united in a vast conspiracy to crush out the average individual's chance for a satisfying life. The Gospel of Mark, the first extant record of the career of Christianity's founder, offers his readers this much-needed opportunity of achieving a satisfying life. This is made available through alliance with the divine Christ who has conquered the demonic powers that menace human life.

In the Gospel of Mark Jesus' conquest of maleficent spirits occupies a position of basic importance at practically every stage in his official career. At baptism he was endowed with the divine Spirit and commissioned for his messianic task. Satan, the chief of the hierarchy of demonic hordes, at once challenged his authority but was worsted in the ensuing struggle. Having proved his divine authority by his mastery of Satan, Jesus began his program of inaugurating the messianic kingdom. The most significant part of that program was the conquest of Satan's demonic forces that wrought devastation everywhere in human society. With their leader they controlled the existing social order. As the leader of the forces of righteousness and the founder of the new Golden Age to be established in the near future, Jesus' major task was to crush the power of the satanic kingdom. The kingdom of God would come when the kingdom of Satan was overthrown. Every time Jesus expelled a demon from a human victim he gained an additional victory for the forces of righteousness and made an advance step toward the realization of the reign of God among men. But these victories were also significant as proofs of Jesus' ability to continue his conquests by overcoming the demons that still menaced individuals and society. His mastery of these evil spirits in the past was symbolic of still greater victories to come in the future.

Mark pictures Jesus' power over demons at the very beginning of his public career and at every important step throughout his Galilean ministry. It was also central in his work when he took two brief excursions into Gentile territory. Only in Jerusalem was it eclipsed by other interests, but even here the dramatic events of the passion week represented the intense struggle between the kingdoms of God and of Satan. The forces of evil seemed for the moment to triumph, in Jesus' death, but his resurrection and exaltation to heaven proved his final mastery.

There are four major elements of the significance of Jesus' conquest of evil spirits as presented in Mark. (1) It brings a message of health to those suffering from the dread demons of disease. (2) It gives the assurance of protection and greater satisfaction in social relationships. (3) It guarantees victory over the ills of the current political order. (4) It makes available the highest possible religio-ethical values.

I. The Gospel of Health

The universal quest for physical and mental health was urgent in first century Roman society. Many economic, social and political conditions threatened the health of the common people. Emotional and nervous instability were particularly prevalent, and were generally interpreted as demon possession. These and allied ills were intensified by the paralyzing dread of environing cosmic powers that permeated the minds of the masses.

Mark shows that Jesus was a great hero-deity, who was possessed throughout his career by the Spirit of the Most High God, and who had mastered the demons that brought these ills to men. He was superior to the other hero-deities whose cults were well-known in the empire. He was an actual historical character of unequalled personality and power who had lived during Tiberius' reign.

His divine status and authority had been attested repeatedly by the greatest characters in Hebrew history, by the demons with their superhuman knowledge, and even by God himself.

These high credentials had been paralleled by a versatile career as exorcist and healer. The author distinguishes between exorcism and other types of healings. The line of demarcation is sometimes very uncertain since demons were in some way responsible for all ailments. In addition to the expulsion of unclean spirits from violent, epileptic, deaf and dumb demoniacs, Jesus had cured cases of leprosy, paralysis, hemorrhage, blindness, fever, deafness with stammering, and raised one girl from the dead, besides many unspecified diseases. Even his bitterest enemies acknowledged the actuality of his cures and attributed them to superhuman (though satanic) power.

Mark has little concern with presenting technical details of Jesus' methods of healing and exorcism, being far more interested in the great human values involved. But he shows some variations in procedure. (1) The touch of his hand is mentioned in most cases of general healing. (2) His powerful word of command drove out most of the demons. Sometimes the two were combined. (3) In isolated cases the use of saliva supplemented the other methods. (4) The importance of the patient's faith is repeatedly stressed. (5) Prayer is once mentioned as a prerequisite for exorcism. Jesus' apparent indifference to technique is in striking contrast with the elaborate procedures of many of the exorcists of the time. By it Mark shows that Jesus' power lay in his Spirit-endowed personality, which was far superior to all other qualifications and techniques.

Mark shows that Jesus' followers might also conquer evil spirits as some of the first disciples had done. The methods available for them included (1) the use of the name of Jesus, (2) anointing with oil, (3) faith, (4) prayer, (5) baptism, (6) the Lord's Supper, (7) endowment by the Holy Spirit. The secret of all these methods lay in the divine power which they brought to bear in the conquest of the demons. They might have within themselves the Holy Spirit which would be a prophylactic against demonic assaults for themselves and a weapon to wield for freeing others from them.

II. Significance for Social Relationships

Roman life was filled with a multitude of religious cults of many types. The deities, temples, images, rites and attitudes of these cults were closely interwoven with every aspect of the whole social order. The people lived in an atmosphere of supernaturalism that literally permeated all life. The Christians, like the Jews, regarded all these deities as demons that threatened their welfare.

Mark shows that Jesus' great power over evil spirits provides protection for his followers who face these perils. Six aspects of this problem are given consideration: (1) protection from demon-infected foods, (2) security in family relationships, (3) safety in general business and social contacts, (4) assurance of a more exalted social status, (5) economic advantages, (6) community benefits.

(1) Practically all animals that were used for food were slaughtered with sacrificial rites to some deity or deities. By such rites of dedication to a god his spirit came to permeate the meat. The eater then took the deity into himself with the food. While this was considered highly desirable by the devotees of the various cult-deities, it was abhorrent to the Christians for it meant the bringing of demons into their bodies. Mark counsels avoidance of such dangers as far as possible but offers protection in case the contact is unavoidable. The Holy Spirit by which the Christian was endowed at baptism was a potent pro-

phylactic against unclean spirits. This divine essence was augmented by participation in the Lord's Supper which realistically gave the devotee more of his divine Lord as a protection against all demonic harm.

(2) Many family rites and customs brought one into constant contact with ghosts of the ancestors and other harmful invisible forces. Christians are advised to shun all unnecessary perils of this kind. But when their legitimate interests made such contacts inevitable, they could be assured of mastery over the malicious forces through the power of the Spirit.

(3) Business and general social relationships were likewise "demon-inspired and demon-infested", for all trades, occupations, public spectacles, religious gatherings and other forms of social intercourse were under the supervision of superhuman powers. Here also avoidance of contact was desirable but the Spirit-possessed Christian was inoculated against the possible menace involved in such contacts.

(4) The devotee of the Christian cult, even though he occupied a lowly status in the general social order, had been raised by Christ to a high dignity in the Christian society. This highly-favored group formed the nucleus of the new righteous social order that was to succeed the present demon-controlled regime. Even the slave could conquer the most powerful demons through alliance with his divine Lord. Thus he became master of superhuman powers to whom even the mighty Emperor owed allegiance.

(5) Mark shows that membership in the Christian group even gave economic advantages, through greater health, greater stability in occupational life, freedom from medical fees, and varied blessings associated with the cult. They would receive a hundredfold in return for everything it cost them.

(6) The conquest of evil spirits by Jesus and his followers also brought blessings to the whole community by freeing the people from the menace of the demoniacs who often imperiled the public safety. Thus Christianity meant greater security, freedom and joy to the individual, to the Christian society, and even to the whole community.

III. Values for Political Life

For the Christians the whole of the political order was under satanic control. This present evil age must be overthrown before men could enjoy the glories of a righteous reign. The complete subservience of the masses to an autocratic government that was inconsiderate of their welfare strengthened the conviction of its demonic character. It was also intensified by the cruelty, chaos and bloodshed of the Neronic terror and the years that followed. Persecution of the Christians made a bitter antagonism inevitable between the established regime and their kingdom of righteousness. For Mark, the empire was Antichrist, the supreme human God-opposing power and Satan's powerful ally.

In the light of this great conflict Jesus' conquest of demons had far greater significance than the restoration to health of possessed individuals. It was the advance-movement in the inauguration of the new social and political order that would supplant the existing satanic society. In his work of exorcism Jesus was performing a major function expected of the Apocalyptic Messiah. The task would be completed with the coming of the new kingdom in its fulness.

To the Christians who were suffering persecution it was extremely significant to know that the mighty persecuting power was not omnipotent or permanent. It would be destroyed at the coming of the victorious Christ in his messianic glory.

Then those who are linked with this mighty conqueror of Satan and his hosts (both demonic and human) are assured of a complete triumph over all their enemies and a glorious participation in the new and perfect political order.

IV. Its Religio-Ethical Significance

In this realm were the supreme aspects of Mark's message. They are considered under four major interests: (1) a sense of cosmic security, (2) the assurance of victory over death, (3) an increased sense of the moral worth of human personality, (4) an intimate group fellowship.

(1) People were living in an atmosphere of cosmic insecurity and dread as the natural outgrowth of the instability of prevailing conditions. They had little opportunity to find a real home in a friendly universe. Religion must give just such guarantees since man's supreme enemies were powerful cosmic forces of evil. The current Mystery Cults insured deliverance from those hostile powers. Mark makes it clear that Jesus also was the conqueror of these demons, having been victorious over them repeatedly during his career. Before the final consummation of the messianic program other hostile astral powers would be overthrown to complete the universal reign of Christ. Mark assures his readers that through alliance with this divine Christ they too may be victorious over these threatening powers. He has made possible the mastery of fear that has haunted their lives. Through him they can be at home in a friendly universe.

(2) Death was the last great cosmic enemy of man. Religion must guarantee mastery over this universal foe in order to insure the full satisfaction of all human needs. Contemporary cults were insuring this victory through the devotee's sharing in the divine life of a dying-and-rising deity. Mark presents Jesus as the great

hero-deity who had broken the power of Satan by his triumph over death. Those who are endowed by the divine Spirit may share in that victory and in the assurance of a blessed immortality.

(3) To people who were living in constant dread of demonic perils, the message of Mark came as a glorious release from an awful bondage. It brought freedom from a deadly fear that had crushed and paralyzed moral initiative. It instilled new hope and courage, developed stamina and self-respect, and opened the way for the growth of all positive moral qualities. It made possible the real integration of frustrated, divided, morbid and "inferior" personalities, giving the sense of moral worth and mastery that are indispensable to genuinely moral living. This increased sense of the moral worth of personality came through the experience of union with deity. The realistic presence of the divine Spirit within the devotee transformed his nature. It gave a strictly metaphysical basis for all Christian morality. It drove out all demonic influences and gave a confident hope of moral victory in all struggles and persecutions, for the individual was reenforced and empowered by his indwelling deity.

(4) This sense of divine companionship and guidance found its fullest meaning and expression in an intimate Christian group fellowship. The deepest religious experiences were shared experiences. It was the cult-group that mediated the Spirit-endowment through the rite of baptism, and augmented and renewed the realistic union with deity through the Lord's Supper.

Christians were sharers in a common Spirit, followers of a common Lord, partakers of a common faith, and sharers in a common task. They were bound together in the greatest enterprise ever undertaken by man, the work of building for the new Golden Age soon to be actualized in human society. Such an experience gave the individual wholesome recognition, self-respect and moral worth that were of inestimable value.

E. Christian versus Non-Christian Exorcism

How did Christian methods of conquering demonic forces compare with those of other cults and of private exorcists? In particular, what, if any, advantages did Christianity have in its solution of this vital problem?

I. Christianity's Superiority to Judaism

As compared with Judaism, the new faith had decided advantages. It enjoyed all the prestige which descent from Judaism had given it in the Roman world, without the nationalistic limitations and social unpopularity of Jewish exclusiveness. Hence it could have free access to people of every race, nation, and class. Its dynamic Spirit-endowment, with its consequent deeds of power, gave it the decided edge over the older, legalistic faith.

II. Its Superiority to Roman Methods

Christianity met the problem of conquering hostile spirit powers more adequately than the old Roman faith because it was far better adapted to the needs of the time. Instead of being bound down by ancient procedures suited to a rural type of life, it was fresh and vigorous, the product of the complex, cosmopolitan life of the first century. Its methods were simple, direct, for the individual, yet strengthened by the type of emotional appeal demanded by the needs of the time.

III. Superiority to the Mystery Cult Procedures

The new faith had much in common with the Mystery Cults in its conquest of demons. Both gave ample place to the emotional element; both were dynamic; both provided the benefits of union with a deity as a powerful means of protection and the special privilege of sharing in the mysteries of the cult. Christianity had an advantage in the fact of an historical figure as her deity, one who had lived during the early days of the empire, and whose high moral character and heroic career made a powerful appeal to those in need of divine help. His association with Yahweh, "the Most High God" was another advantage of no little value. Moreover the appeal of the Christian movement to every class, even the moral outcasts, won a hearty response from many who were seeking the benefits of religion.

IV. Superiority to the Professional Exorcists

In comparison with the professional exorcists, Christianity presented methods of greater simplicity. The use of the name of Jesus as a single, all-sufficient name for mastering all evil powers was far superior to the elaborate techniques of the free-lances. Moreover, the use of the names of the deities of many cults by the latter tended to make their methods seem secondary. Why not go to the original authorities at first hand? All of the religious groups that practiced exorcism, including Christianity, had the advantage over the professionals because of the greater human concern which they manifested. The procedure with them was not merely a business transaction. People had more confidence in them because of the more inclusive benefits which they bestowed. Christianity was working at a decided advantage also in that it made no financial charges for services rendered. Thus its benefits were as available to the common people as to those of high rank in society.

Christianity's claims to superiority in this as well as other fields of interest--even to the point of intolerance--also came to be recognized as a factor making for her success. Her claim to have the one and only adequate divine name and authority for mastering demonic forces proved to be a decided benefit. The followers of Jesus also offered a more inclusive conquest of evil spirits, in every aspect of experience, than any other cult, and this contributed to their greater success. Christianity guaranteed a full salvation from the ravages of the demonic hordes.

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abraxas refers to Abraxas; studien zur religionsgeschichte des späteren altertums.

AITN refers to Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur.

ALRP refers to After Life in Roman Paganism.

Am. Sup. refers to Amulets and Superstitions.

ANCL refers to Ante Nicene Christian Library.

ANF refers to The Ante-Nicene Fathers.

Apoc. NT refers to The Apocryphal New Testament.

Apoll. refers to The Life of Apollonius of Tyana.

Apos. F. refers to Apostolic Fathers.

APOT refers to The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.

ARGR refers to Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans.

Asc. Isa. refers to The Ascension of Isaiah.

BS refers to Bible Studies.

CIA refers to Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.

CIG refers to Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

CIL refers to Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

CPAR refers to The Common People of Ancient Rome.

Daniel, ICC refers to Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel. ICC.

DAZ refers to Das altjüdische Zauberwesen.

De Off. refers to De Officiis.

De Deo Socr. refers to On the God of Socrates.

De Har. Resp. refers to De Harusp Responsis.

EB refers to Encyclopaedia Biblica.

Enc. Jud. refers to Encyclopaedia Judaica.

ERE refers to Enclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

ESECT refers to Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times.

Exodus refers to Commentary on Exodus in the New Century Bible.

Gal. ICC refers to A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, ICC.

GB refers to The Golden Bough; a Study in Magic and Religion.

GPBM refers to Greek Papyri in the British Museum.

GST refers to Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition;Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.

HDB refers to A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology.

HE refers to Eusebius' Church History.

HEIM refers to Incantamenta magica graeca latina.

HGAC refers to The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations.

HGHL refers to The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

HJP refers to A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.

HMES refers to A History of Magic and Experimental Science During the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era.

Infl. Wealth refers to The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome.

INJ refers to Im Namen Jesu.

JAOS refers to The Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JE refers to The Jewish Encyclopedia.

JT refers to Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften.

Kom. refers to Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.

LAE refers to Light from the Ancient East.

LTJM refers to The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.

MEC refers to The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.

Metam. refers to The Metamorphoses or The Golden Ass.

MRC refers to The Mystery-Religions and Christianity.

NBE refers to The New Birth Experience in Pauline Christianity and Contemporary Religions.

NH refers to Natural History.

NPNF refers to A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.

Num. refers to A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers.

ORRP refers to Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.

OSC refers to The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church.

Ox. Pap. refers to Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

Patr. G. refers to Patrologiae cursus completus, bibliotheca omnium s.s. patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque sive Graecorum.

Patr. L. refers to Patrologiae cursus completus; sive, Biblio-universalis...omnium s.s. patrum,doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum...series latina.

PC refers to Primitive Culture.

Poim. refers to Poimandres.

Proleg. refers to Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.

PSBA refers to Proceedingsof the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

PSRT refers to Primitive Semitic Religion Today.

RAE refers to The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.

Rel. Bab. Assyr. refers to The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.

Reste arab. Heid. refers to Reste arabischen Heidentums.

RERP refers to The Religious Experience of the Roman People.

Rev. in ICC refers to A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, with Introduction, Notes and Indices, also the Greek Text and the English Translation.

RF refers to The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic.

RJ refers to Die religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter.

RKR refers to Religion und Kultus der Römer.

RLM refers to Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire.

Rom. Quest. refers to Roman Questions.

RQGRW refers to *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*.

RS refers to *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.

RSNA refers to *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

RWS refers to *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*.

Test. XII Patr. refers to *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Test. Sol. refers to *The Testament of Solomon*.

TM refers to *Textes et monument figures relatifs aux mysteres de Mithra*.

TMS refers to *Taboo, Magic, Spirits*.

Sat. refers to *Satyricon, Fragments and Poems*.

SEHRE refers to *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.

SG refers to *The Synoptic Gospels*.

SOC refers to *The Social Origins of Christianity*.

SPG refers to *Studies in Parisaism and the Gospels*.

WR refers to *The Worship of the Romans*.

WGG refers to *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostalischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus*.

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